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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOKS OF
THE OLD TESTAMENT

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BY

T. H. ROBINSON, D.D.

THE BOOK OF AMOS. Hebrew Text.

PRINTED BY

London: S.P.C.K.

THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY

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AND

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NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

First published in 1974

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

DEDICATED
TO
OUR PUPILS
PAST, PRESENT
AND FUTURE

PREFATORY NOTE

IN offering this book, the third work in which we have joined in happy collaboration, to Biblical students, whether in the technical or the wider sense, it has been our endeavour to strike a mean between the exhaustive work of Driver and the necessarily restricted volumes, for example, of Gray or McFadyen. Excellent as these two latter are, it is obvious that the authors were not permitted sufficient scope by their respective publishers since the size of the volumes had to conform to that of a Series. While we have, therefore, not gone into the minute details which characterize Driver's great work, it has been our aim to offer a somewhat fuller account of the Old Testament books—their contents, structure, etc.—than that given in most other English *Introductions*.

Further, we have been at pains to lay stress on some matters which have not always received as much attention as is due to them; thus, wherever needful, we have dealt as fully as space permitted with the historical background of a book; not that this has been wanting in other *Introductions*, but we venture to think that the subject demands rather fuller treatment than is usually accorded it. We have also made a point of indicating, though as a rule quite cursorily, the importance of the Septuagint for the study of the Old Testament books.

Our general approach to the problems of the prophetic literature differs from that which is to be found in most standard *Introductions*. We do not, however, claim any originality here. The line which we have followed is that

taken by practically all the best writers on individual prophetic books. Here, we hope, we have been able to fill a gap in the study of the subject. The method has involved our giving more attention than has usually been done in works on Introduction to the metrical structure, *e.g.*, of the different parts of the *Book of Isaiah*. The general subject of Hebrew metre is dealt with in a special section. We are fully aware of the differences of opinion which exist on this side of Old Testament studies, but it is well, we believe, that the salient facts should be brought to the notice of the student.

Many problems arise in connexion with most of the Old Testament books; we have done our best to touch upon most of these, but it is hardly to be expected that all of them should have been dealt with.

The literature, English and foreign, which is concerned with the Old Testament is enormous; where there is a *plethora* of material it is not always easy to decide what should be said and what left aside; it is quite impossible to deal with everything in one volume, perhaps even in half a dozen. In this matter we are fully prepared to meet with criticism; we regret it, but we cannot help it.

In the first instance we are individually responsible for certain books, or parts of books; but in every case we have discussed together the various problems which arise, and in almost every case we have reached agreement; in the one instance in which we have not been able to see eye to eye the fact is indicated in a footnote.

With regard to the treatment of the individual books, it will be seen that there is not always uniformity in the headings of the sections; it is hardly necessary to apologize for this because the nature and character of the various books differ greatly, and what is appropriate in the case of some is not so in that of others.

In transcribing Hebrew words, we have deliberately avoided the use of diacritic signs to indicate quantity. For the reader who understands Hebrew these are unnecessary, for the reader who does not understand Hebrew they are meaningless. We have followed the usual method in transcribing Hebrew consonants except that we have retained the spelling—now grown familiar—of *Qinah*.

We regret that Prof. Eissfeldt's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* did not appear until the printing of our own book was already far advanced. It has been, therefore, impossible to use it in our own work, but we note with satisfaction the extent to which we can concur in his views, especially in his treatment of the prophetic literature.

We take this opportunity of thanking Mr. H. H. Rowley, of University College, Cardiff, for having read through our MS., for having made a number of valuable criticisms, and for having also read the proofs with that meticulous care which characterizes all his work. We are also indebted to Mrs. T. H. Robinson for having read the proofs and for having checked the Biblical references.

W. O. E. OESTERLEY.

THEODORE H. ROBINSON.

April 30, 1934.

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THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. THE TERM "CANON"

THE Greek word *κανών* means, in its original sense, "a straight rod"; it is derived from *κάννα*, "a reed," for which the Hebrew word is קֶנֶף (*Kaneh*); in Ezek. xl. 3, 5, e.g., we have קֶנֶף מִדְּבָר, "a measuring rod"; the Greek word was borrowed from the Hebrew. In its earliest known Greek use (175 B.C.) it is applied to "a level" in reference to the building of a temple.¹

Its metaphorical use in Greek is equivalent to the Latin *norma*, the "rule" or "standard" of what is right and best; cp. Gal. vi. 16: "And as many as shall walk by this rule (τῷ κανόνι), peace be upon them . . ." (cp. also ii Cor. x. 13 ff.).² The title *κανόνες* was given to the old Greek authors as those who created the best models in literature.

Its use in reference to the books of the Bible—the Old Testament in the first instance—is Christian; derivatives from the word, by the Greek Fathers, occurred before the term itself came into use; as a technical term in reference to the Scriptures it is used for the first time, so far as is known, by Amphilochius, archbishop of Iconium (circa A.D. 380).

By the expression "the Canon of the Old Testament," then, is meant the existence of a certain number of books which were held to conform to a standard; what constituted that norm will become clear as we proceed.

II. THE PURPOSE OF A CANON OF SCRIPTURE

It is clear that the idea of a Canon necessarily presupposes the existence of a number of books, some of which, for one

¹ See Moultou, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, s.v. *κανών*.

² Cp. i Clem. vii. 2: ". . . and let us come to the glorious and venerable rule (*κανόνα*) of our tradition."

reason or another, are regarded with special veneration, and which must therefore be authoritative in a pre-eminent sense. Otherwise we should have to assume that what we now call "canonical" books were regarded as "canonical" when they first appeared, and there is nothing to suggest that this was ever the case with any Old Testament writing. Now this *idea* of a "Canon," *i.e.* of some books being more holy than others, could not have arisen all at once; it was only gradually, and by general consensus, that certain books came to have a special sanctity attached to them. The earliest actual designation of the books of the Old Testament as the "holy books," or the "holy writings," is found in Josephus, about A.D. 100; but the formulation of the Canon must have been going on for long before, because the way in which he writes shows that in his time already the Canon as we know it was accepted; and it was regarded as finally fixed, for nothing farther could be added to it. Josephus' words are so important in the present connexion that it is necessary to quote them in full:

"We have not an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another; but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times, and which are rightly believed in.¹ And of these, five belong to Moses, which contain the laws and the tradition of the origin of mankind till his death for a period of nearly three thousand years. From the death of Moses until the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who came after Moses wrote down the things that were done in their times in thirteen books. The remaining books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life. But from Artaxerxes to our times all things have indeed been written down, but are not esteemed worthy of a like authority because the exact succession of the prophets was wanting. And how firmly we have given credit to these books of ours

¹ The word *Θεατα* (believed to be) "divine," is omitted in Niese's text, as it does not occur in the Greek or Latin texts of Josephus; it is added by Eusebius *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 10).

is evident by what we do; for during so many ages which have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add anything to them, to take anything from them, or to make any change in them. But it is become natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem these books to contain divine doctrines, and to stand by them, and willingly to die for them.”¹

This passage shows that, according to Josephus, the essential marks attaching to the idea of “canonical Scriptures” were:

- (a) that they are *θεοῦ δόγματα*, of unquestioned authority, and must be believed in *ex animo*; for since they all originate within the prophetic period, they are divinely inspired;
- (b) that they are to be distinguished from every other form of literature in that they are holy;
- (c) that their number is strictly limited;
- (d) that their verbal form is inviolable.²

Further, it must also be noted that, according to Josephus’ belief, as expressed in this passage, the canonicity of a book depended upon whether it had been written within a clearly defined period, and that period was from Moses to the death of Artaxerxes, *i.e.* within what was held to be the prophetic period. The artificiality of this test is shown by the fact that, as Ryle has pointed out, “the mention of this particular limit seems to be made expressly with reference to the book of *Esther*, in which alone the Artaxerxes of Josephus (the Ahasuerus of the Hebrew book of *Esther*) figures.”³

This is all entirely in accordance with the teaching of official Judaism as ultimately stereotyped in the Talmud: revelation began with the Patriarchs, all the prophets up to and including Malachi were endowed with the Holy Spirit, so that the words they wrote must be regarded as having been inspired; therefore the Scriptures were “holy

¹ *Contra Ap.*, I. 38-42.

² See Holscher, *Kanonisch und Apokryph*, p. 4 (1905).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 164; see also Eberharder, *Der Kanon des alten Testaments zur Zeit des Ben Sira*, pp. 57 ff. (1911).

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

writings," the origin and norm of all divine teaching, and no teaching can be recognized as true unless it can be shown to be founded on the holy writings.¹ The Rabbis, like Josephus, maintained that no book could be regarded as canonical unless it had been written within the prophetic period, which they reckoned as from Moses to Ezra.²

The holiness of the canonical writings was indicated by the Rabbis by saying that it "defiled the hands";³ the phrase denotes an antique conception; what is "holy" is infected by the Deity, according to old-world ideas; but to come into contact with the Deity, even mediately, is dangerous, because everything holy is originally taboo; anyone who touches a holy thing must undergo a ritual washing.⁴ Therefore a holy book imparts contagion to him who touches it. This is what lies behind the phrase "defiling the hands" as equivalent to what we understand by canonicity.

III. THE HEBREW CANON

The Hebrew Bible, as we now have it, is divided into three parts; the divisions, which are due to the Rabbis, are artificial, and judged by their respective contents, illogical, as will be seen; they are as follows:

(a) *The Law*, called *Torah*: Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy; five books.

(b) *The Prophets*, called *Nebi'im*; these are subdivided into—

- (i) the former prophets, called *Nebi'im Rishonim*, viz. Joshua, Judges, i, ii Samuel, i, ii Kings (each of the last two being regarded as one book); and
- (ii) the latter prophets, called *Nebi'im 'Acharonim*, viz. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets, reckoned as one book; making altogether eight books for this division.

¹ Weber, *Jüdische Theologie* . . . pp. 80-91 (1897).

² For details see Holscher, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 ff.

³ The term occurs frequently in reference to the Scriptures in the Mishnah, tractate *Yadum*.

⁴ Cf. Lev. vi. 20, and elsewhere.

(c) *The Writings*, called *Kethubim*: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah (reckoned as one book), i, ii Chronicles (reckoned as one book); eleven books.¹ Thus $5 + 8 + 11 =$ twenty-four books. At first sight this does not seem to agree with the twenty-two of Josephus, $5 + 13 + 4$; but there can be little doubt that Josephus' *Ruth* belonged to *Judges*, and *Lamentations* to *Jeremiah*.

The number twenty-four is clearly an artificial one, as can be seen, e.g., by the fact that the books of the Twelve Minor Prophets, belonging to very different times, are treated as one book; on the other hand, *Ezra-Nehemiah* and *Chronicles*, which form one book, are reckoned as two. It is possible that the Rabbinical number twenty-four was chosen because it $= 12 + 12$; the number twelve "derived its sacred character from the fact that it is the product of three and four, and is the number of the months of the year. There are twelve tribes of Israel and the same number of tribes of Ishmael (Gen. xvii. 29, xxv. 16). The number of many representative men and things was made twelve to accord with the number of the tribes (Exod. xxiv. 4; Num. xvii. 2, 6; Josh. iv., etc.). . . ."²

That the way in which the books are divided is illogical is also clear, since the first division, the *Law*, consists more of narrative than of legal matter; similarly, the *Prophets*, which is very largely history.

The question now arises as to whether these three collections of holy writings represent three successive stages of canonization. It is usually held that at one time the Hebrew Canon consisted of the Law, i.e. the Pentateuch, only; that later the Canon was enlarged by the admission into it of the "Prophets"; and that, finally, the canonicity of the remaining books was recognized, and thus the three-fold Canon came into being. This view Hölscher, in his discerning and discriminating examination of the whole sub-

¹ Of these, *Song of Songs*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther* are known as the five *Megilloth* ("Rolls"); they were so called when they were received into the Liturgy, in post-Talmudic times; see Blau, *Studien zum alt-hebräischen Buchwesen und zur biblischen Literaturgeschichte*, pp. 66 ff. (1902).

² *Jewish Encycl.*, ix. 349, a.

ject, has shown to be based on insufficient and unreliable evidence, and therefore erroneous;¹ there were not three successive stages at which these three collections of books were in turn recognized as canonical in the technical sense; such stages cannot be indicated; the idea is due to post-Christian Rabbinical suppositions. What happened was that the *Torah*, as it grew from the end of the seventh century B.C., was specially venerated; but it was constantly added to until it reached its final shape about the end of the fourth century B.C.; its authoritative character increased, but no idea of canonicity attached to it. As to the *Prophets*, some of these writings existed before the *Torah* became a Law-book, and they were added to from time to time up to the middle of the second century B.C.; but nowhere is there any evidence that they became "canonical." So that, for example, what Ben-Sira says in Ecclus. xlv-l does not indicate anything regarding the Canon as such, *i.e.* one cannot say that this is evidence that the prophetic canon was closed by that time;² it only shows what books had by his day (*circa* 182 B.C.) come to be regarded with special veneration—an important step in the process which ultimately led to the formation of the Canon—but the idea of a Canon had not yet arisen; and this is clearly seen by the fact that Ben-Sira can speak of himself as the latest of the Biblical writers, and therefore regards his book as the most recent addition to the Scriptures: "And I, last of all, awoke (or 'came,' as the Syriac reads), as one that gleaneth after the grape-gatherers. By the blessing of the Lord I made progress, and as a grape-gatherer, filled my winepress" (Ecclus. xxxiii. 16). Again, that Ben-Sira did not regard the books of the Old Testament as what is understood as canonical, in the sense of being separated off from other books to which no addition may be made, is seen from xxiv. 33 of his book, where he writes: "I will yet pour out doctrine as prophecy, and leave it unto eternal generations" (see also verses 30-32, 34); nor would he have taken upon

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 7-77.

² See e.g., Buhl, *Kanon und Text des Alten Testaments*, p. 12 (1891), and Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 113 (1895).

himself, as Hölscher points out, to assume the tone and style of the ancient prophets, as he often does (see, *e.g.*, xlvii. 20, l. 29), if the "unbridgeable cleft of canonicity" had gaped between him and the prophets.¹

Similarly with the *Writings*; they, too, existed in part before the *Torah* became a Law-book, and went on increasing into Christian times; but there is no evidence to show that they, as a separate collection, obtained an individual *canonicity*.

The underlying and real cause which in course of time forced the idea of forming a Canon to arise was Greek culture and the growth of Greek literature; the more immediate cause—which was, however, to a large extent an outcome of this—was the spread of apocalyptic books written by and circulating among the Jews. To give the reasons for this would take up far too much space here; they are cogently presented by Hölscher. But it became necessary in view of what was regarded by the Jewish religious leaders as erroneous and pernicious literature, to gather out from the mass of current books those which they held to contain the truth; thus the idea of a Canon came into being, and this was towards the end of the second century B.C. But the actual fixing of the Canon did not come until long after this, and it was not piecemeal; there is good reason to believe that the Hebrew Canon as we now know it was an accomplished fact by about A.D. 100.

In what has been said the important thing to bear in mind is the distinction between books which are good and authoritative, and the same books when they have been pronounced canonical, *i.e.* as possessing the marks, mentioned above, attaching to canonicity; the nature of books undergoes by this process, as it were, metamorphosis. But this pronouncement did not take place in three successive stages in respect of what we now call the three divisions of the Canon; on the other hand, it did not, as it were, take place in one act; the discussions as to whether certain of the books "defiled the hands" or not, many remains of

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

THE OLD TESTAMENT

which are preserved in the Talmud, show that it must have taken a long time before the final fixing of the Canon was a *fait accompli* in about A.D. 100.

IV. THE GREEK CANON

By the "Greek Canon" is meant the books of the Old Testament included in the Septuagint Version of the Hebrew Scriptures; the term is used for convenience' sake; in itself it is inaccurate because the books of the Greek Old Testament not represented in the Hebrew Scriptures did not come within the purview of the Jewish religious authorities in their discussions about books which "defiled the hands" or not. So that inasmuch as these books were never even considered from the point of view of canonicity it is not, at any rate from the Jewish point of view, accurate to speak of a Greek Canon. On the other hand, from the Christian standpoint the term is justified, for the early Church regarded all the books of the Greek Bible, whether represented in the Hebrew Scriptures or not, as equally authoritative, and therefore canonical.

When exactly the repudiation by the Jewish Church of the Greek, or "Alexandrian" Canon first began to take shape is uncertain; it would seem in any case to have come gradually, for "about the middle of the first century A.D., when the Greek-speaking Christian community began to break entirely with Judaism, the narrow Pharisaic doctrine of the Canon had certainly not as yet penetrated into the domain of Hellenistic Judaism so deeply as to delete completely, or to exclude from the MSS. of the Septuagint, all the books that Pharisaism refused to recognize."¹ By the time of Josephus, however (end of first century A.D.), the Greek Bible which he used consisted substantially of the books of the Hebrew Canon as we know it; and according to ii (iv) Esdras xiv. 44, 45 (of approximately the same date) the Canon consisted of twenty-four books of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The number of the books in the Greek Old Testament

¹ Budde, in the *Engel. Bibl.*, i. 673.

not included in the Hebrew Canon varies in the MSS. and in the lists which have come down to us;¹ but the most complete lists contain the following: i Esdras, Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Sirach (Ecclesiasticus), Judith, Tobit, Baruch and the Ep. of Jeremiah, i-iv Maccabees. In addition, the *Psalms of Solomon* is sometimes included, either among the Solomonic books or at the end of the Canon; and the Greek version of the *Book of Enoch*, "although by some accident it has been excluded from the Greek Bible,"² was undoubtedly regarded as canonical in the early Church,³ and must therefore have been included in copies of the Greek Old Testament.⁴

Apart from the last two, these books are comprised in what we now know as the Apocrypha; a final word in regard to this expression is called for. The Greek word *apokryphos* was originally used in a good sense in reference to books which were "hidden" from the outside world because they were too excellent for ordinary mortals. In its technical sense the term "is derived from the practice, common among sects, of embodying their special tenets or *formulæ* in books withheld from public use, and communicated to an inner circle of believers"⁵ (cp. ii [iv] Esdras xiv. 44-47). "Apocryphal" was thus applied originally to books which contained hidden wisdom, and must therefore be kept hidden from the world in general.⁶ But Origen used the term in reference to what we know as the pseudepigraphic books; then, in the fourth century, in the Greek Church a distinction was made between "Canonical" books and those which were read "for edification"; but these latter referred to the books of what we now call the Apocrypha; the term "apocryphal" was still used only in reference to pseudepigraphic books. Jerome (died

¹ For these see Swete, *Intr. to the O.T. in Greek*, pp. 201 ff. (1900).

² Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

³ As is well known, it is quoted in Jude 14, 15 (= Enoch i. 9).

⁴ In the case of what most of the Latin MSS. call *ii Esdras* (= chs. iii-xiv of *ii Esdras* in the English Apocrypha), the Greek is not extant, excepting for a few fragments; it was originally written in Hebrew.

⁵ James, in *Encycl. Bibl.*, i. 249.

⁶ The equivalent term in Hebrew, *ganaz*, refers to books the contents of which were regarded as heretical, not to books of the Apocrypha, the reading of which was permitted.

A.D. 420) in the Latin Church followed the example of the Greek Church in so far that he made a distinction between the "libri canonici" and the "libri ecclesiastici"; the latter referred to those of our Apocrypha, so that these were now "apocryphal" books; Jerome was the first to use this term "apocryphal" in this new sense. It did not become general for some time; St. Augustine, for example, used "apocrypha" in the old sense, in the *De Civitate Dei*, xv. 23; but by degrees Jerome's usage of the term became generally accepted, and it has continued so to the present day.

THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

I. HEBREW WRITING

THE Old Testament was originally written in two languages, the greater part being in Hebrew, and portions of *Daniel* and *Ezra* in Aramaic. It has been suggested (*e.g.* by Naville) that the Law was originally written in cuneiform script and in the Akkadian language, being translated into Hebrew at a comparatively late date. This view, however, has not found general favour and lacks direct evidence.

Forms of writing may be divided into three classes. The first is called ideographic, in which the sign represents an idea and not a sound. It is often a little picture of the thing intended, or a conventionalized form of a picture in which only a few lines survive. Examples of ideographic writing may be seen in ancient Sumerian and in modern Chinese, and in the numerals commonly used by us all. The second type of writing represents syllables; to it belong the ancient Akkadian and modern Japanese writing. In the third form the syllables themselves are split up into their constituent sounds, and we have an alphabet. In comparatively early times (*c.* 1400 B.C.) we know that a Semitic dialect resembling Aramaic was written in a kind of alphabet in northern Syria,¹ and such evidence as is available supports the view that, about the same period, a Hebrew alphabet was coming into existence in the south, which

¹ See especially in the literary treasures unearthed at Ras-Shamra. Details will be found in *Syria*, xiii. pp. 1-27 (Schaeffer), and pp. 113-169 (Viroilleaud) (1932), xiv. pp. 93-127 (Schaeffer), pp. 128-151 (Viroilleaud) (1933). See also, Schaeffer, "The French Excavations at Minet el Beida and Ras Shamra in Syria," in *Antiquity*, pp. 460-466 (1930) and Viroilleaud, "The Gods of Phoenicia," pp. 405-414 (1931); Montgomery, "Notes on the Mythological Epic Texts from Ras Shamra," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 53, No. 2, pp. 97-123 (1933); Gaster, "The Ritual Pattern of a Ras Shamra Epic," in *Archiv. Orientalni*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1933).

proved to be the ancestor of most of the forms of writing now current in the western world.¹

The shapes of the letters were very different in early days from those which appear in modern printed Hebrew, being much nearer to the early Greek forms. But, in spite of changes which took place between the sixteenth and first centuries B.C., Hebrew writing preserved two characteristics which were not retained in the Indo-European languages. In the first place, the alphabet was always written from right to left, not from left to right. In the second place, it indicated consonantal signs only, like modern reporters' shorthand, and had no means of representing the vowels save by additional signs.

For details of the changes which have taken place, the reader must be referred to special works on epigraphy.² The peculiar nature of the Semitic languages (the group to which both Hebrew and Aramaic belong) made it possible to read with fair certainty as long as Hebrew was a spoken language. It was, however, gradually replaced by a form of Aramaic in the post-exilic period, and, by the beginning of the Christian era, apart from the regular reading of Scripture in the synagogues, it was almost confined to a body of learned men. There arose then the need for representing the vowels, in order to safeguard the traditional pronunciation and meaning. The consonantal text was gradually acquiring so high a degree of sanctity that men dared not alter it, even to make its pronunciation clearer, and two systems of vowel-representation were ingeniously devised. One of these consisted of marks placed over the consonants, and was current among Eastern Jews. The other was a system of dots and dashes, mostly placed under the consonants. This was used in the west, and is that normally found in MSS. and printed Hebrew Bibles. It may be remarked that the copies of the Law used in

¹ In the so-called Sinaitic alphabet cp. A. H. Gardiner, "The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. III, pp. 1-15 (1916); H. Bauer, *Zur Entzifferung der neu entdeckten Sinaitischen Schrift* (1918); H. Grunne, *Althebraische Inschriften vom Sinai* (1923).

² Cp. e.g., the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Lidzbarski's *Ephemeris*, G. A. Cooke's *North Semitic Inscriptions*, Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. i-xxvi (2nd ed., 1913).

synagogue worship to this day have no vowels indicated at all.

II. THE HEBREW TEXT

Until the invention of printing, the Hebrew Bible was necessarily copied by hand. The similarity between certain letters made mistakes very easy, but this danger was largely avoided by the extraordinary care bestowed on their work by Jewish scribes. No literature has ever been copied with such absolute fidelity and accuracy as the Old Testament, and there are, probably, not many printed books which contain so few mistakes as did the average MS. of the Hebrew Bible. Among the hundreds of copies known, the variations are only slight, and the great majority of those quoted, *e.g.* by Kennicott, De Rossi and Ginsburg, affect the vowels and not the consonants. Even when scribes were sure that the text before them was wrong, they copied the consonants as they stood, though they wrote a corrected text in the margin. Sometimes the fidelity of the scribes led them to copy ungrammatical or even meaningless sentences, due in the earlier copy to the carelessness or thoughtlessness of an older copyist. But they placed the vowels of their suggested reading in the text, a procedure which often produces a curious appearance, since the vowels of one word seem to be applied to the consonants of another. The most familiar example of the process is to be found in one of the divine names. The consonants were YHWH, probably pronounced *Yahweh*. But the word was too sacred to be uttered, and readers always used the term 'Adonay = Lord. So the vowels of the latter were actually written with the proper consonants, thus producing the composite form *Yehowah*, whence our familiar word *Jehovah*.

The task of preserving and handing down the sacred text fell to a body or class of men who are commonly known as *Massoretes*. The name is derived from the Hebrew term *Massorah*, which means "tradition." But the work of the *Massoretes* went much farther than merely copying the text accurately and seeing that it was provided with the proper

vowel signs. They studied it with the utmost diligence, counting the verses in each book, identifying the middle word, and appending in the margin countless notes, calling attention to anything unusual or remarkable in the text. Even such variations as an abnormally large or small letter were faithfully copied, and a note showed that the peculiarity was traditional, not arbitrary.¹

A great many MSS. are known, but no complete Bible can be definitely stated to be older than the ninth century A.D., though there are MSS. of portions of it which are as old as the seventh century.² Since the process of fixing the text seems to have been complete by the end of the sixth century, it is not surprising that the variants are few and insignificant. One MS., known as G1, in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, presents an abnormal number of slight differences, but clearly represents the usual text.³ Occasional differences of reading are found in other MSS., but, in general, the text is so uniform as to make it possible to cite it comprehensively under the title Massoretic Text (MT).

There is, however, one important group of MSS. giving evidence of the pre-Massoretic text of the Pentateuch. This consists of a few MSS. belonging originally to the Samaritan community, which clearly represent the text as it was some centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. While there are many deliberate alterations, made in the interests of Samaritan as opposed to Judæan orthodoxy, yet, when allowance has been made for these, the number of variants is not extraordinarily large. It is clear that the Samaritan scribes gave to the copying of the Pentateuch almost as much care as did the orthodox Jews,

¹ For a general description of the Massorah, cp. Geden, *Outlines of Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, pp. 85 ff. (1909).

² Perhaps an exception should be made in favour of the Nash papyrus, which contains some verses from *Deuteronomy*, though not in the usual order, and dates from the second century A.D. at the latest. Some authorities hold this to be a liturgical text; see Burkitt, "The Hebrew Papyrus of the Ten Commandments," in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* (April 1903); S. A. Cook, "A Pre-Massoretic Biblical Papyrus," in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (Jan. 1903).

³ The MS. has been especially studied by H. W. Sheppard, who published a transcript, with notes, of Pss. i-xli. in 1920.

and the general agreement of the two lines of text carries us back with some certainty at least to the second century B.C. Like the MT, the Samaritan text can usually be cited as a general whole.

III. THE VERSIONS

All Hebrew MSS., whether Jewish or Samaritan, belong to that type of tradition which we may call Palestinian. Their practical identity greatly enhances the importance of the Versions, especially when it is clear that these latter were translated from a text far older than the archetype on which all Jewish MSS. were ultimately based. Three of these clearly belong to the Palestinian tradition, and they show how the form of text now current was gradually reached. These are:

1. The Syriac (often cited as the *Peshitta* = "The Simple") made, probably, in the second century A.D.

2. The Targums. These were popular Aramaic renderings, which were often very free, even paraphrastic. The more important, known as the Targum of *Onkelos* on the *Pentateuch* and the Targum of *Jonathan* on the *Prophets*, reached their present form not later than the end of the second century A.D.

3. The Vulgate; a Latin translation made by St. Jerome in the fourth century A.D. There was an older Latin version, but that was based on the common Greek text, and was not rendered directly from a Hebrew original.

The differences between the text underlying all these translations and the MT are comparatively slight. But it is interesting to notice that the nearest is the Vulgate, which is the latest of the three, while the Syriac diverges more than either of the others. It is thus clear that the fixing of the text was a process which was gradually carried on down to the fourth century A.D., when it was very nearly complete. But it was already far advanced when the Syriac translation was made, a conclusion to which we are forced by the evidence of the standard Greek version. To this we may now turn.

The text which we have been considering up to this

point represents, as we have already observed, a Palestinian tradition, even in the Samaritan Pentateuch. But, after the Exile, and especially from the time of Alexander the Great, there were communities of Jews in many places outside Palestine. By far the most important of these lived in Egypt, and Jews formed a considerable element in the population of Alexandria.¹ We may assume that, when they first settled there, they took with them Hebrew copies, at least of the Law, and perhaps of later books also. Other books were from time to time introduced among them. These would be copied in Hebrew for some time, until, as the Jews forgot their ancestral language, a need for a Greek version would be felt. Probably, also, close contact with the heathen world made the Egyptian Jew anxious to exhibit the treasures of his own literature in a form intelligible to his neighbours. Jewish tradition held that the Law was translated into Greek by the orders of Ptolemy Philadelphus,² by seventy-two scribes, whence the version is commonly known as the Septuagint, and is normally indicated as "LXX." It may be remarked that, while the tradition refers only to the Law, the term just mentioned is applied to the whole of the Greek Old Testament, including the books now classed as *Apocrypha*. Whether the narrative be correct in placing the initiative with the Egyptian king or not, there can be no doubt that the Septuagint *Pentateuch* dates back to the middle of the third century B.C. Other books followed during the next hundred and fifty years, and it seems that by the opening of the first century B.C., practically the whole of the Old Testament was available in Greek. At the beginning of the Christian era a complete Greek Bible was in existence, largely used by New Testament writers, including, not only the books preserved in the Hebrew Bible, but also some, at least, of those which we now class as apocryphal and apocalyptic. The evidence suggests that in some books, notably in the *Pentateuch*, the text was from time to time corrected by

¹ The very much earlier settlement at Elephantine does not come into consideration, since there is no evidence to suggest that the Jews there possessed or knew the Bible in any part of it. They were certainly unaware of some of the provisions in *Deuteronomy*.

² 2nd c. B.C. For the story see the well-known *Letter of Aristeas*.

scribes who were familiar with the Palestinian Hebrew form, though in other cases, especially in *Samuel* and *Jeremiah*, it retained practically complete independence.

During the second century A.D. three other Greek versions appeared. These were those of:

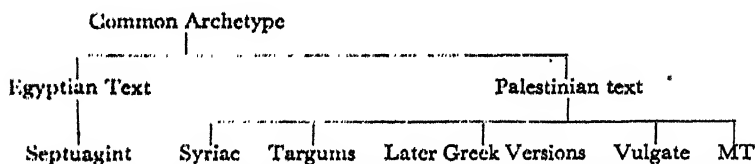
i. Aquila, a slavishly literal translation of the Hebrew, designed to meet the Christian use of the Septuagint in argument. It was claimed that the traditional version did not fairly represent the Hebrew, and the object of this undertaking was to tell the Jews exactly what the Bible really said. It is held by some scholars that Aquila is to be identified with the Onkelos, whose name is associated with the Targum of the Law.

ii. Symmachus. This is a somewhat free translation, into Greek, of a more elegant literary type than that of the Septuagint.

iii. Theodotion. A very thorough revision of the Septuagint, bringing it to some extent into harmony with the MT as current in the translator's time.

These last three versions (though that of Theodotion is rather a revision than an independent version), like the Syriac, Targums and Vulgate, show comparatively little divergence from the standard Palestinian text preserved in our Bibles. The Septuagint, however, often differs very widely from the MT, and is, therefore, of the highest value for textual criticism. The divergence is smallest in the *Pentateuch*, and is at its highest point in *Samuel*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*.

We are thus able to reconstruct the history of the materials we have for textual criticism, and to represent it in graphic form: ¹



¹ No account is taken here of the numerous secondary versions, since they are evidence, not for the Hebrew text itself, but for the version from which they were rendered. Thus the Septuagint was the parent of the Old Latin and of the Coptic and Ethiopic versions, while the Arabic was translated from the Syriac.

IV. THE USE OF THE VERSIONS

In view of the practical identity of all extant Hebrew MSS., the versions are of the highest importance for the recovery of the original text. The three later versions, together with the post-Septuagint Greek translations, can be used to help us to reconstruct the Hebrew text as it was generally accepted at the beginning of the Christian era, for where they all agree with the MT we may be sure that the readings thus attested go back to that age. But the Septuagint stands on a very different footing. The Hebrew text originally taken to Egypt clearly antedated the age of accurate copying and careful textual study. As the Samaritan form of the text suggests, we may have to make an exception in the case of the Law, though even there it is possible that Alexandrian Jews in the later Ptolemaic age had their copies revised so that they might agree with the Palestinian standard. The constant intercourse between Jerusalem and Egypt would make this almost inevitable in the case of the *Pentateuch*, while the lower grade of sanctity ascribed to other books would make Greek-speaking Jews less careful to adopt the "orthodox" forms. Where, then, we find agreement between the MT and the Septuagint, we may safely assume that we have recovered a text which, for some parts of the Bible, was as early as the fourth century B.C., and in none was later than the end of the second.

Where the Septuagint and the MT differ, we have to use our judgement in each individual case. The divergences seem to be due to three causes:

- (a) Different pronunciation of the same Hebrew consonants.
- (b) One word substituted for another.
- (c) Insertion or omission of words, sentences, or even longer passages.

Variations due to (a) need not detain us, though we should remember that even by the time the Vulgate was translated there was no complete system of representing Hebrew vowels. A typical illustration may be seen in

Gen. xlvii. 31, where the Hebrew ran: "Israel bowed himself upon the *bed's* head." The Septuagint, quoted in Hebr. xi. 21, reads: "top of his *staff*." Both Palestinian and Egyptian texts clearly had the Hebrew consonants MTH, but the former pronounced them *miṭṭah*, the latter *matteh*. It is usually (though not always) fairly easy to decide which of the two pronunciations gives the better sense.

Class (b) needs a good deal more consideration. We have to assure ourselves, in the first place, that the divergence is not due to corruption in the Greek text, rather than to a different Hebrew original.¹ Forms like *ἐτι* and *ὅτι* are often confused, while the Hebrew words which they represent (תִּיב—'odh and כִּי—ki) have no resemblance to one another. A more complicated, but very instructive, illustration may be drawn from Lam. iii. 63, where the English version, following the MT as traditionally vocalized, has "I am their song." The Septuagint has *ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῦς αὐτῶν*, which seems to represent a totally different text until we realize that it is corrupted from *ἐγὼ ἀπὸ ψαλμοῦ αὐτῶν*, "I from their psalm." This is hardly lucid, and it is no wonder that copyists failed to produce it accurately, but it is a possible literal rendering of the Hebrew consonants, though they must have been differently vocalized. In spite of appearances, the reading of the Egyptian text was here identical with that of the Palestinian, though its meaning is by no means clear, and there may well be some corruption which crept into the text at an early period.

In countless other cases, however, the Septuagint was translated from a text which differed from the MT. A single illustration may be taken from Isa. xli. 1, "Keep silence before me." Here the Septuagint has *ἐγκαλίσσεσθε*—"renew," and clearly read a different word—*haḥadishu* for *haḥarishu*. As the Hebrew letters *d* (*dh*) (ד) and *r* (ר) were very similar at all stages of their development, we can easily understand how the mistake arose in Hebrew, though it would be unnatural in Greek. In choosing between two

¹ The textual criticism of the Septuagint is in itself a separate and elaborate branch of study, for which we have no room here. The reader is referred to Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (1900), and to R. R. Ottley, *A Handbook to the Septuagint* (1920).

such readings, no general rule can be laid down, though there is a slight presumption in favour of the MT, since the Egyptian scribes would be less familiar with Hebrew than their Palestinian brethren, and would be more likely to copy a word wrongly.

When we turn to variations of the (c) class, we find that they occur most frequently in certain books. In *Jeremiah* the Septuagint is appreciably shorter than the MT; often individual words are omitted, especially expansions of the divine name; and sometimes longer passages, e.g. Jer. xxxiii. 14-26 is not represented in the Greek text at all. Still more striking is the fact that the collection of prophecies dealing with foreign nations, which appears in the MT (and so in the English version) as chs. xlii-li, is placed in the Septuagint immediately after xxv. 13, instead of towards the end of the book. In *1 Samuel* we find instances where the Greek text is longer or shorter than the MT; e.g. the former omits xvii. 55-xviii. 5, perhaps in order to avoid the difficulty raised by the suggestion that Saul did not know who David was when he went out to fight Goliath. Again, in *1 Kings* xi, xii, the Septuagint has a much longer account of Jeroboam, differing from that of the MT in many details. Some of these additions are clearly translations from Hebrew originals, not free compositions in Greek, and this fact makes it the more difficult to decide as to the more primitive text. A scribe or reader sometimes made marginal notes which he never intended to be included in the text. Later copyists, however, did not always realize this, and often incorporated the additional matter in the text itself. Where the MT is longer than the Septuagint, there will be a slight balance of probability on the side of the Egyptian reading, since the Palestinian scribes, being the better acquainted with Hebrew, would be the more likely to expand the text.

(d) Conjectural emendation. Even when we have reached the common form which lay behind both the Palestinian and Egyptian traditions, very many passages remain which arouse suspicion. We know that, even in the comparatively short time which elapsed between the separation of the two lines of texts and the translation of

the Septuagint, very many corruptions made their way into both texts. Now the common archetype of the two cannot be traced back farther than the middle of the fourth century B.C. at the earliest, and this still leaves a gap of several centuries for which we have no alternative evidence.¹ We cannot but suppose that other errors will have crept in during that long period, and again and again we meet with passages which are unintelligible in all extant forms of text. To correct these we can fall back only on conjectural emendation. This is often very interesting, and countless suggestions have been made by modern scholars for the improvement of the text. In a comparatively small number of places we may be reasonably sure that the emended reading is the right one. A good instance occurs in Amos vi. 12, where the E.V. reads "shall one plough there with oxen?" But no word for "there" is to be found in the MT; it has been inserted by the English translators in order to make sense of an otherwise meaningless sentence. We may add that the Hebrew itself presents us with an anomaly which would be closely paralleled in English by saying "shall one plough with cattles?" But, if the last word in the verse be divided into two, and the correct readjustment of the vowels be made, we get "shall one plough *the sea* with cattle?", which gives just the sense required by the context, and is, almost certainly, the original reading. In many instances, however, we are forced to admit that, while a modern conjecture is often an improvement, and *may* possibly restore the true text, we seldom have ground for asserting with confidence that it has certainly done so.

Yet, in spite of all uncertainties, the great fact remains that the text as we now have it does, in the main, represent fairly the actual words of the authors who lived, some of them, nearly three thousand years ago, and we need have no serious doubt on the score of textual corruption as to the validity of the message which the Old Testament has to give us.

¹ We do, however, find occasionally passages which appear more than once in the Bible, e.g., Isa. ii. 2-4 = Mic. iv. 1-4, and here we may be able to compare two ancient forms of text. But these passages are too few to give us any general help.

THE PENTATEUCH ¹

THE Old Testament in all its forms begins with the five books of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*.² They are always grouped together, and form, in the Jewish Canon,³ the *Torah*, or Law. They were traditionally ascribed to Moses and are sometimes cited under his name. Jewish writers often spoke of them as the "five-fifths" of the Law, and the name "Pentateuch" is a Greek way of expressing the same essential thought. In Jewish theology the collection had, and has, a degree of sanctity which is far above that of the other books of the Old Testament, and many orthodox Jews who allow themselves to accept critical conclusions regarding the *Prophets* and the *Writings* do not feel free to handle the *Torah* in the same way.

I. CONTENTS

The Pentateuch purports to present a continuous narrative which starts with the Creation of the world and ends with

¹ It has been usual among Old Testament critics to add to the Pentateuch the *Book of Joshua*, and to include the whole under the name of the Hexateuch. This is due to the fact that the final revision of these books, that of the priestly school, extended as far as the end of *Joshua*, and no farther, and it used to be held also that two of the older sources, J and E, likewise came to an end at that point. The literary work of the Deuteronomistic school, on the other hand, extended beyond its limits, and certainly included the *Book of Judges*. We might even say that it was carried almost to the end of *Kings*. It is, however, now generally recognized that J and E are to be carried on through *Judges*, and, possibly, into *Samuel*, making *Joshua* much less clearly the last section of a literary unit. Further, the general habit of thinking of the first five books of the Bible together may simplify matters for the student, who should, however, remember that the term Hexateuch is still in common use in learned works on the Old Testament. He may refer for scholarly discussions to the works of Addeis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch* (Vol. I, 1892, II, 1898) and Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *The Pentateuch* (1900); Chapman, *An Introduction to the Pentateuch* (1911). By far the best book on the subject for the general reader is Simpson's *Pentateuchal Criticism* (1924).

² The names are derived ultimately from the Septuagint. In the Hebrew Bible the first word, or pair of words, of each book is used as its title—*Bereshith*, *We'alleh shemoth*, *Wayyiqra*, *Emidhbar* (the fourth word, not the first) and *Elleh dehhurim*. *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*, however, are usually cited by the second of the two words which, properly, compose the title in each case.

³ See pp. 4 ff.

the death of Moses, as Israel is on the point of entering the Promised Land. The story runs as follows:

Gen. i-xi. The Creation and the history of mankind down to the time of Abraham.

Gen. xii-xxv. 18. The story of Abraham.

Gen. xxv. 19-xxvi. 19. The story of Isaac, including the early life of Jacob.

Gen. xxvii-xxxvi. The story of Jacob.

Gen. xxxvii-l. The story of Joseph, showing how the Israelites came to be in Egypt.

Exod. i. The oppression of Israel in Egypt.

Exod. ii-xv. 21. Moses delivers Israel.

Exod. xv. 22-xix. 25. Moses brings the people to Sinai.

Exod. xx-xxiv. A code of laws, opening with the Decalogue, is given, and a covenant is made between Israel and Yahweh.

Exod. xxv-xxx. Moses, in the mountain, receives instructions as to the building of the Tabernacle, its furniture, the priestly robes and consecration ceremonial.

Exod. xxxii. The Golden Calf; Moses breaks the two Tables of Stone.

Exod. xxxiii. Moses' method of communication with Yahweh.

Exod. xxxiv. Moses receives a second law, written on another pair of tables.

Exod. xxxv-xl. Moses carries out the instructions received according to chs. xxv-xxx.

Lev. A series of laws, mainly ritual, received by Moses in the Tabernacle.

Num. i-iv. A census of Israel.

Num. v-vi. Further laws.

Num. vii. Dedication of the Tabernacle.

Num. viii-x. Some ritual ordinances.

Num. xi. The people murmur, and quails are sent.

Num. xii. Rebellion of Miriam and Aaron.

Num. xiii-xiv. Spies are sent into Canaan, and an unsuccessful attempt is made to enter the land from the south.

Num. xv-xix. Ritual regulations, including the story of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

Num. xx. Incidents prior to the departure from Kadesh.

Num. xxi. 1-20. Incidents on the journey from Kadesh.

Num. xxi. 21-35. Defeat of Sihon.

Num. xxii-xxiv. The blessing of Balaam.

Num. xxv. Apostasy at Baal-peor.

Num. xxvi. A census.

Num. xxvii-xxxi. Sundry laws, mostly ritual.

Num. xxxii. Settlement of the eastern tribes.

Num. xxxiii. The itinerary of Israel.

Num. xxxiv-xxxvi. The apportionment of Canaan among the tribes, including the appointment of Levitical cities and cities of refuge.

Deut. i-iv. Moses, on the eve of his death and the entry of Israel into Canaan, recapitulates the history and exhorts Israel to fidelity.

Deut. v-xi. A second discourse of Moses, enjoining fidelity to Yahweh, and introducing the code.

Deut. xii-xxvi. A code of laws, mainly ethical.

Deut. xxvii. Arrangements for the solemn adoption of the Law in Canaan.

Deut. xxviii. Consequences of obedience and of disobedience.

Deut. xxix-xxx. Moses' third discourse.

Deut. xxxi. Moses' farewell.

Deut. xxxii. The Song of Moses.

Deut. xxxiii. The Blessing of Moses.

Deut. xxxiv. The death of Moses.

II. STRUCTURE

Even a glance over this rough outline indicates that there are two elements in the Pentateuch, a legal and a narrative, and that these have been interwoven. At once we note that *Deuteronomy* stands apart from the rest; the narrative portion is simply a recapitulation of what has been said before, and the legal section is also, in large measure, an expansion and a revision of material which is to be found in *Exodus*. The

last chapter, however, with the account of Moses' death, does introduce a fresh element, and it is worth noting that it links itself naturally to the end of *Numbers*. This is clear if we read the last verse of *Numbers* and the first verse of Deut. xxxiv continuously:

"These are the commandments and the judgements which the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses unto the children of Israel in the plains of Moab by the Jordan at Jericho. And Moses went up from the plains of Moab unto mount Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho" (Num. xxxvi. 31; Deut. xxxiv. 1).

While, then, we may leave *Deuteronomy*, as a whole, for separate consideration, we should include its last chapter in any discussion of the rest of the Pentateuch.

Narrative and law are unevenly distributed throughout the Pentateuch. *Genesis* has little reference to law, introducing legal matters only to explain the origin of institutions such as the Sabbath and circumcision. *Leviticus*, on the other hand, is practically all law, with no narrative, and the two elements are combined in *Exodus* and *Numbers*. We can separate the two, and shall do best if we consider the narrative portions first.

i. *Narrative portions.* At the very start we are struck by the fact that we have two accounts of the Creation, the first ending with Gen. ii. 4, and the second continuing down to the end of ch. ii. Even to the superficial eye it is clear that these are difficult to harmonize. The first tells the story of the making of the world in six days, the general order being evolutionary and leading up to the creation of man, both sexes being made at the same time. At three points the word "create" is introduced, first in connexion with the appearance of chaotic matter, next when animal life arrives, and, lastly, when man is brought into existence. The implication is that each of these three events involves a new element, which cannot be accounted for on the basis of what has previously existed. In the second, the order is entirely different. Man is made first—there is no reference to the creation or preparation of the world of inanimate matter—and then vegetation is produced. Animals are next con-

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structed, that the man may not be lonely, and, when these fail to satisfy him, woman is formed, but on a different method from that employed in making man and the animals.

But this superficial difference in presentation entirely fails to bring out the gulf that separates the two narratives when they are read in Hebrew. There are striking variations in the vocabulary, *e.g.* in ch. i the words used for creation are literally "create" and "make"; in ch. ii they are "model" and (used only of making the woman) "build."¹ Another obvious difference which may be mentioned here is the divine name. In Gen. i we have only "God"; in Gen. ii we have the compound phrase "Lord God," *i.e.* in Hebrew, *Yahweh Elohim*, where the second word (literally "God") seems to be a sort of "determinative" attached to the name of the God of Israel.

These differences, however, are comparatively slight beside the contrast presented by the tone and outlook of the whole of the two passages. The second is the work of a story-teller, and is such as we should tell to children, simple, straightforward, *naïve*, and anthropomorphic. *Yahweh* is very powerful and very clever, but He can make a mistake, though, when He fails, He knows how to try another method, which succeeds. The first narrative, on the other hand, is dignified, stately, systematic, almost scientific. There is a whole area of culture lying between the two. Both express the same fundamental truth, that God made the world, but while the one presents it to an audience still in its intellectual and spiritual nursery, the other addresses an adult and "sophisticated" age. Finally, we may note that the first story of Creation leads up to the institution of the Sabbath, and this suggests an interest in, perhaps even an enthusiasm for, ritual and religious ceremonial.

We may next glance at a doublet of another type. In Gen. iv. 17-26 we have a genealogy, telling us of the descendants of Adam. In Gen. v we have another genealogy, which includes some names very like others found in ch. iv,

¹ For a list of terms peculiar to Gen. i and allied passages, see Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. 123-128 (1913); Skinner, *Genesis*, pp. lxiii ff. (1910).

and one or two which are identical. But, just as in the two Creation stories, so here, we find differences in vocabulary, still more in style and outlook. In ch. iv we have a "chatty" account of the descendants of the first man, while in Gen. v we have the whole fitted into a regular and formal scheme. In other words, the second genealogy matches the first Creation story, and the first genealogy the second Creation story. And, as we read through the Pentateuch, we find many another passage which presents us with the same general characteristics as Gen. i and v. Their prevailing interest in matters of law and ritual has led scholars to describe them as *priestly*, and to indicate them by the letter P.

As we read further, other problems arise. In the story of the Flood, for instance, we find at least one glaring self-contradiction. In Gen. vi. 18-22 and in Gen. vii. 1-5 we have accounts of the command which was given to Noah, ending with his entry into the Ark. But in vi. 19 Noah is bidden take one pair of *every* species, in order to preserve them, while in vii. 2 f. he is ordered to take seven of each "clean" species (*i.e.* of each species that may be eaten and offered in sacrifice) and two of each "unclean" species. Further, we have different estimates of the duration of the Flood. The *data* supplied to us in vii. 11, 24; viii. 3-5, 13, 14, give us a period of five months from the beginning of the Flood before the water began to go down, nine months before the tops of the mountains appeared, eleven months before the ground was dry, and a total of just over twelve months for the whole time Noah was shut in the Ark. On the other hand, vii. 4, 12, viii. 6-12 suggest forty days' rain, twenty-one days during which Noah made experiments with birds as to whether the water was subsiding; and a further seven days during which he still waited to make sure that the ground was dry. This provides a total of sixty-eight days. Finally, we may note that the means whereby the Flood was produced differ. In Gen. vii. 4, 12 it is brought about by exceptionally heavy rain, while in vii. 11 (cp. also viii. 2) it is due to a collapse of the fabric of the universe, which admits the waters of the great deep both from above and from below. It is impossible to avoid the feeling that

two independent narratives have here been interwoven with one another. Actual experiment serves to confirm this impression, and the clues already given facilitate the analysis of the whole story of the Flood into two complete, distinct narratives.¹ These bear characteristics similar to those of the two stories of Creation, and the two genealogies already noticed. The narrative which speaks of *two* animals of *every* species is closely allied to Gen. i (we may note especially the use of the word "God" as the divine name, the fondness for actual figures, and the structure of the universe implied) and the genealogy in ch. v. The story which refers to *seven clean* animals, on the other hand, clearly comes from the same circles, possibly even from the same original document, as the second Creation story and the genealogy in Gen. iv. Again, we note especially the more *naïve* presentation of the record, and the use of the divine name Yahweh ("Lord"), though this time it lacks the determinative word "God." The last feature has led scholars to speak of this element in the Pentateuch as "Yahwistic," and to cite it under the letter J (Latin and German for Y).

These two elements, P and J, may be found, either singly or in combination, throughout the first four books of the Bible. It should, however, be noted that one of the distinctive marks of P in *Genesis* disappears soon after the beginning of *Exodus*. In Ex. vi. 2 ff. we have P's account of a revelation given to Moses. In verse 3 we read: "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as God Almighty (R.V. margin 'El Shaddai'), but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them." This explains the reason why P scrupulously avoids the use of the name Yahweh (= Jehovah, see p. 13) in the account of Creation and in the stories of the patriarchs. But now that the name has been revealed, it is no longer an anachronism to use it, and it becomes the normal, almost invariable, practice of P to use the name Yahweh in speaking of the God of Israel after this point. So, as between P and J, we have to depend on other features for the analysis of the two. Yet the style

¹ For the actual process, cp. *The People and the Book* (ed. Peake), pp. 164 f. (1925).

and outlook of P are so clearly marked that we seldom, if ever, find serious disagreement among scholars as to the identification and reconstruction of this document of the Pentateuch.

This, however, does not exhaust the sources which the compiler of the Pentateuch used in the construction of his book. An interesting and instructive passage is the story of how Joseph was sold into Egypt, told in Gen. xxxvii. In verse 25 we hear of a caravan of Ishmaelites; in the second part of verse 28 Joseph is sold to them, and in xxxix. 1 they have brought him down to Egypt, and Potiphar buys him from them. But in the first part of verse 28 Midianites are mentioned as having taken Joseph out of the pit in which his brothers had left him on the instigation of Reuben (verse 22), and in verse 36 it is they who take him down to Egypt and sell him to Potiphar. This is a direct contradiction and, once more, is best explained on the theory that we have two stories interwoven with one another. The impression is supported by the "doublets" which occur throughout the whole. There are two reasons given for the hatred felt by the brothers—Joseph's own dreams and his father's favouritism, manifested in the special coat he wore. Two of the brothers intervene to save his life, and by different methods—Reuben suggests throwing him alive into a pit, and Judah recommends that he be sold to the Ishmaelites. Again, two complete narratives can be disentangled.¹ According to the one, Joseph arouses the jealousy of his brothers and the anger of his father by his dreams. One day he is sent to them, and they decide to kill him. Reuben saves him by having him dropped alive into a pit, where he is found, in the absence of the brothers, by Midianites, who take him down to Egypt. Reuben, unable to find him when he returns to release him, is in despair, and Jacob mourns for his son. In the other story, Joseph is his father's favourite, and has a special coat given to him, implying that he is to be free from the labours which fall to the lot of his brothers. One day, as he approaches his brothers, they plot to kill him, but, after they have taken his coat off, Judah persuades them to sell him to

¹ For details of the process see *The People and the Book*, pp. 155ff.

a passing caravan of Ishmaelites. The coat is dipped in goat's blood, and is taken back to the old father, who recognizes that Joseph has been devoured by a wild animal.

Though no divine name appears at all in this chapter, it is easy to see that there is no trace of P except in the two opening verses. The two stories very closely resemble one another in style, tone and outlook, and clearly belong to the same general stage of development. If differences are to be observed at all, they may be found in one or two minor points. What we may call the "Midianite" story is interested in Reuben, which suggests that its *provenance* was northern Israel, while the "Ishmaelite" story places Judah in the forefront, and, therefore, probably belongs to the south. A further characteristic feature of the "Midianite" story may be seen in its interest in dreams. The indications (especially the promises of Judah)¹ are just sufficient to enable us to associate the "Ishmaelite" story with the J element which we have already noted in the earlier chapters, while the other belongs to a different, though parallel, group of literary material.

For further investigation of the element to which the "Midianite" story of Gen. xxxvii belongs we may turn to other passages. In Gen. xii. 10-20 and xx we have two similar stories. They differ in many details, and the variations were clearly sufficient to prevent the idea that they describe the same events, and so they were not combined into a single whole, as were the two Flood narratives and the two accounts included in Gen. xxxvii. But they have the same *motif*, since both tell the reader how Abraham lied about his wife in order to avoid a possible danger to himself. We note at once a difference in the divine names; in Gen. xii we have "Yahweh," which we have noted as a sign of J, and in Gen. xx we have "God," which we have hitherto, in *Genesis*, accepted as an indication of P. But there is nothing else in Gen. xx which in the least suggests the style and outlook of P. On the contrary, but for the divine name and the presence

¹ Possibly also the name Israel may be added. After Gen. xxxii. 28 it seems to be used regularly by J, cp. ch. xliii. 1-12 and xli. 28-34; both are passages in which Judah is prominent.

of a parallel story in ch. xii, we should have been quite prepared to assign this passage to J. There is, however, one further point of distinction between the two stories. In ch. xii nothing is said as to the means whereby Pharaoh discovered who Sarah was. In ch. xx, on the other hand, the truth is revealed to Abimelech in a dream. We are at once reminded of one of the features of the "Midianite" story of Gen. xxxvii, and, in the absence of strong reasons to the contrary, we may attribute both these narratives to the same original group. From the fact that the divine name generally used is the Hebrew word *Elohim*, the term Elohistic is commonly applied to this element, and it is indicated by the letter E.

So far we have confined our attention to *Genesis*, partly because it stands first, and partly because the three elements (especially P) are fairly easy to distinguish. But the same phenomena of literary structure are to be observed also in *Exodus* and in *Numbers*. A good illustration is to be found in the story of the institution of the Passover. Exod. xii. 1-20, 24-28, 40-50, with their legal tone and their introduction of exact figures, are clearly P, while most of the remainder, with its comparatively *naïve* simplicity and its anthropomorphic presentation of God, suggests J. Even more striking is the combination of sources to be found in the account of the crossing of the Red Sea. Here two stories may fairly easily be disentangled. According to one of them, the passage is made possible by a natural withdrawal of the water (possibly owing to the tide—a phenomenon unfamiliar to the Israelites) and an unusually strong drying wind. The tide returns under the sand, clogs the wheels of the Egyptian chariots, and, eventually, drowns the pursuers before they can reach solid ground. This has all the marks of E, though there may be elements derived from J. In the other narrative the miraculous element is strongly brought out. The sea is actually divided, and stands up in watery cliffs on each side of the track along which the Israelites pass, falling back on the Egyptians as soon as the fugitives are safely across. This is due to P.

At the same time, it should be clearly stated that, while P

always stands out because of its peculiar style and interests, the disentanglement of J and E after the end of *Genesis* is often difficult and sometimes impossible. E still sometimes uses the divine name "God," but, after the revelation of Yahweh to Moses in *Exod.* iii. 1-15, that name often appears even in E. Other differences are to be noted, however, and these may serve as a guide where they appear. Amongst them we may especially mention the preference of E for the name "Amorite," as applied to the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Canaan, while J usually has "Canaanite," confining "Amorite" to peoples east of the Jordan. Still more striking is the fact that the sacred mountain, where Yahweh first appeared to Moses and where the Covenant was made, is called Horeb in E and Sinai in J and P. But, where such indications fail, though we may be conscious of a double narrative or of two parallel accounts, the differentiation is often quite uncertain.

ii. *Legal and Ritual portions.* We have already remarked ¹ that P shows a deep interest in matters of law and of the cultus. We need to remember that civil and religious law, *jus* and *fas*, were not distinguished in the mind of the ancient Israelite, and that a collection of laws, or "code," might include both types of regulations—indeed probably would do so. But the interest of the priestly writers was naturally focussed on matters of ritual, ceremonial cleanness, the priesthood and the like. These are not wholly absent from other elements in the Law, but they can hardly be expected to assume the same proportions as in P.

Beside P, whose characteristic style is stamped on most of the legislation in *Exodus*, and of the whole of that found in *Numbers* and *Leviticus* (with exceptions in this latter book to be noted later), we have three collections of laws in the Pentateuch, each of which was, we may assume, originally an independent code.² These three collections are to be found

¹ P. 27.

² At this point reference should be made to the work of Jerku, especially to his *Das weltliche Recht im Alten Testament* (1927). He redistributes the laws among a fresh series of codes from which, he believes, they have been taken to form the existing documents. His study of the subject contains valuable features, especially in his comparison of Israelite laws with those of other peoples of western Asia, but his conclusions would involve a wholly new

in: (a) Exod. xx-xxiii, (b) Exod. xxxiv. 17-28, (c) Deut. xii-xxvi. The last of these will be discussed later, when the whole of the book in which it appears is considered. The first opens with the Decalogue, followed by certain regulations for worship, and then proceeds to lay down laws for the conduct of Israelite society. Most of the laws contained in chs. xxi-xxiii are moral and social, but, especially in ch. xxiii, we find also a certain number of prescriptions dealing with worship—sacred dues, festivals and sacrifice. The little code in Exod. xxxiv is accompanied by a narrative explaining the circumstances in which Moses wrote it down at the dictation of Yahweh, together with an exhortation to root out utterly the pre-Israelite inhabitants of Palestine. It is worth noting that the prescriptions in the code itself are essentially matters of worship and ritual, and that they are all found also in Exod. xx-xxiii. Only in one instance is there a material variation: in the Decalogue *carved* images are forbidden (Exod. xx. 4-6), while in Exod. xxxiv. 17 it is *molten* figures that are prohibited. Clearly we have here a case of a doublet of the type which we have seen already in dealing with the narrative portions of the Pentateuch, and we may safely assume that the two codes belong to the two elements which we have already noted, J and E. A brief glance over the two makes it clear that, while the code in Exod. xx-xxiii has distinct affinities with the E narrative,¹ that of Exod. xxxiv is naturally connected with J, especially in the use of the name "Sinai" in the narrative framework. Here, again, we have a clear case of two parallel documents which, in this instance, seem to have been nearly identical.

analysis of most of the Pentateuch. His views rest on the assumption that in any one code all the laws must have been introduced by the same formula, and this appears too uncertain to justify a wholesale abandonment of conclusions which have proved themselves to be otherwise soundly based.

¹ It is enough to note here the use of the divine name "God," cp. xx. 20, 21; xxi. 6, 13; xxi. 8, 28; the interpretation "judges" suggested by the R.V. margin in some of these passages is not wholly probable. It is true that "Yahweh" occurs in this code, but, as we have seen (p. 32), this name is frequently used by E after Exod. iii, while neither of the other elements freely employs the word "God" without "Yahweh" in speaking of the God of Israel.

III. GENERAL ANALYSIS

Detailed analysis of the whole of the Pentateuch is here, naturally, impossible. Differences in minor points are to be observed in the assignment of various parts of many passages, especially in *Exodus* and *Numbers*, but, on the whole, the following division may be accepted as a general approximation.¹

J.	E.	P.
<i>Genesis.</i>		
ii. 4 b-iv. 26.		i. 1-ii. 4 a.
v. 29.		v. 1-28, 30-32.
vi. 1-8.		vi. 9-22.
vii. 1-5, 7, 10, 12, 16 b, 17 b, 22 a-23 a, viii. 2 b-3 a, 6-12, 13 b, 20-22, ix. 18-27.		vii. 6, 8-9, 11, 13-16 a, 17 a, 18-21, 23 b-24, viii. 1-2 a, 3 b-5, 13 a, 14-19, ix. 1-17, 28-29.

An analysis such as this looks complicated and arbitrary, but a careful reconstruction of the two narratives of the Flood, or the reading of such a translation as that found in the National Adult Schools Union's *Genesis in Colloquial English* will serve to show, by the completeness and the accuracy of the two narratives, how fully the process is justified.

J.	E.	P.
x. 8-19, 21, 25-30.		x. 1-7, 20, 22-24, 31-32
xi. 1-9, 28-30.		xi. 10-27, 31-32.
xii. 1-4 a, xii. 6-xiii. 5, 7-11 a, 12 b-18.		xii. 4 b-5, xiii. 6, 11 b, 12 a.

Ch. xiv presents problems all its own. In style and general character it is utterly unlike anything else in the Pentateuch, and is probably based on independent reminiscences, handed down through centuries, of events recorded, not in Palestine, but in Mesopotamia.

J.	E.	P.
xv. 1 bd, 2 a, 3 b-4, 6- 12 a, 17-21.	xv. 1 ac, 2 b-3 a, 5, 12 b- 16.	

It may be remarked that verses 20, 21 are best regarded

¹ For discussions of individual points the reader is referred to any scholarly modern commentary on the separate books. *The Century Bible*, the *Cumb. B.*, *cap. Driver's Exodus*, and the *Westminster Commentaries* may be consulted, and still more important are the volumes on *Genesis* and *Numbers* in the *International Critical Commentary*.

as a later note appended by some scribe imbued with the style and language of *Deuteronomy*. See below, pp. 47 f.

J.	E.	P.
xvi. 1 b-2, 4-14.		xvi. 1 a, 3, 15-16.
xviii. 1-xix. 28, 30-38.		xvii. 1-27.
	xx. 1-18.	xix. 29.
xxi. 1 a, 2 a, 6 b-7, 25-26, 29-30, 32 a, 33.	xxi. 6 a, 8-24, 27-28, 31, 32 b, 34.	xxi. 1 b, 2 b-5.
xxii. 20-24.	xxii. 1-19.	
xxiv. 1-67.		xxiii. 1-20.
xxv. 1-6, 11 b, 18.		xxv. 7-11 a, 12-17.
xxv. 21-26 a, 27-28.	xxv. 29-34.	xxv. 19-20, 26 b.
xxvi. 1-33.		xxvi. 34-35.
xxvii. 1 a, 3, 4 b, 5-6.	xxvii. 1 b-2, 4 ac.	xxvii. 46.
xxvii. 7		
8 a, 15, 18 a, 20, 23-27, 29 ac, 30 a, 31 b, 33-34, 38 b, 41 b-45.	xxvii. 8 b-14, 16-17, 18 b-19, 21-22, 28, 29 b, 30 b-31 a, 31 c-32, 35-38 a, 39-41 a.	

Here again we have a passage where the two narratives are very closely interwoven, especially in verse 7, though even here it is possible to apportion the words with some degree of certainty between them.

J.	E.	P.
xxviii. 10, 13-16, 19 (21 b).	xxviii. 11-12, 17-18, 20-21 a, 22.	xxviii. 1-9.
xxix. 2-14, 18-23, 25-28 a, 30-35.	xxix. 1, 15-17.	xxix. 24, 28 b-29.
xxx. 1 a, 3 b, 9-16, 20 b-21, 22 c-23 a, 24 b, 25, 27, 29-43.	xxx. 1 b-3 a, 4 b-8, 17-20 a, 22 b, 23 b-24 a, 26, 28.	xxx. 4 a, 22 a.
xxxi. 1, 3, 19 a, 21, 25 b, 27, 31 b, 36 a, 38-40, 44, 46, 48, 51-53 a.	xxxi. 2, 4-18 a, 19 b-20, 22-24, 25 a, 26, 28-30, 32-35, 36 b-37, 41-43, 45, 49-50, 53 b-xxxi. 1.	xxxi. 18 b.
xxxii. 4-14, 23 a, 24 a, 25, 26 b, 28-29, 32-33.	xxxii. 2-3, 15-22, 23 b, 24 b, 26 a, 27, 30-31.	
xxxiii. 1-5 a, 6-10 a, 11 b-17.	xxxiii. 5 b, 10 b-11 a, 18 b-20.	xxxiii. 18 a.
xxxiv. 2 b-3 a, 5, 7, 11-13, 19, 25 b-26, 30-31.	xxxiv. 1-2 a, 3 b-4, 6, 8-10, 14-18, 20-25 a, 27-29.	
xxxv. 21-22.	xxxv. 1-5, 6 b-8 a, 14 ac, 16-20.	xxxv. 6 a, 8 b, 9-13, 14 bd, 15, 23-29.
xxxvi. 31-39.		xxxvi. 1-30, 40-xxxvii. 1.
xxxvii. 3-4 a, 12-13 a, 14 b-17, 18 b, 21, 23, 25 b-27, 28 b, 31, 32a, 33 ac, 35.	xxxvii. 2 b, 4 b-11, 13 b-14 a, 18 a, 19-20, 22, 24, 25 a, 28 ac, 29-30, 32 b, 33 b, 34, 36.	xxxvii. 2 a.

J.	E.	P.
xxxviii. 1-30.		
xxxix. 1-25.		
xl. 1 b, 3 b, 5 b, 15 b.	xl. 1 a, 2-3 a, 4-5 a, 6-15 a.	
xli. 9 b, 14 b, 31, 34 a, 35 ac, 36 a, 41-42 a, 44-45, 48, 49 b, 53-54 a, 55, 56 b-57.	xli. 1-9 a, 10-14 a, 14 c-30, 32-33, 34 b, 35 b, 36 b-40, 42 b-43, 46b-47, 49 a, 50-52, 54 b, 56 a.	xli. 46 a.

In the earlier part of this chapter the J account is represented only by fragments. It was probably so similar to E that the compiler did not think it necessary to preserve both.

J.	E.	P.
xl. 2, 4 b, 5, 7, 9 b-11 a, 12, 27-28 a, 38.	xl. 1, 3-4 a, 6, 8-9 a, 11 b, 13-26, 28 b-37.	
xl. 1-13, 15-23 a, 24-xliv. 34.	xl. 14, 23 b.	
xl. 1 a, 2 a, 4 b-5 a, 5 c, 7 b, 10 a, 13-14.	xl. 1 b, 2 b-4 a, 5 bd, 6-7 a, 8-9, 10 b-12, 15-28.	
xlvi. 1 a, 28-34.	xlvi. 1 b-5.	xlvi. 6-27.
xlvi. 1-5 a, 6 b, 13-26, 29-31.	xlvi. 12.	xlvi. 5 b-6 a, 7-11, 27-28.
xlvi. 2 b, 9 b-10 a, 13, 14, 17-20 a, 20 c.	xlvi. 1-2 a, 8-9 a, 10 b-12, 15-16, 20 b, 21-22.	xlvi. 3-7.

Verse 7 may be an insertion dating from a later time, though derived from a comparatively early source. Its closest affinities, however, are with P.

J.	E.	P.
xl. 1-27, 33 b.		xl. 29-33 a, 33 c.

Verse 28 is a late note appended to the blessing of Jacob.

J.	E.	P.
i. 1-3 a, 4 b-10 a, 11, 14.	i. 3 b-4 a, 10 b, 15-26.	i. 12-13.
<i>Exodus.</i>		
i. 6, 8-12.	i. 15-22.	i. 1-5, 7, 13-14.
ii. 11-23 a.	ii. 1-10.	ii. 23 b-25.
iii. 2-4 a, 4 c, 5, 7-8, 16-18.	iii. 1, 4 b, 6, 9-15, 19-22.	
iv. 1-16, 19-20 a, 21-26, 29-31.	iv. 17, 18, 20 b, 27-28.	

This passage, like many others in *Exodus* and *Numbers*, contains a certain amount of material which must have been introduced by the compilers. Such material is not especially indicated in this analysis, but is included in the passage

concerned. Thus, an addition made to a section predominantly J is not separately specified, but is included in the same section as the basic sentences. For fuller discussion of the general question see below, p. 48.

J.	E.	P.
v. 3, 5-vi. 1.	v. 1-2, 4.	vi. 2-vii. 7.
vii. 14, 16-17 a, 18, 21 a, 24-25.	vii. 15, 17 b, 20 b, 23.	vii. 8-13, 19-20 a, 21 b-22.
viii. 1-4, 8-15 a, 20-32.	ix. 22-23 a, 24 a, 25 a, 35.	viii. 5-7, 15 b-19.
ix. 1-7, 13-21, 23 b, 24 b, 25 b, 34.	x. 12-13 a, 14 a, 15 b, 20-23, 27.	ix. 8-12.
x. 1-11, 13 b, 14 b-15 a, 15 c-19, 24-26, 28-29.	xi. 1-3.	xi. 9-10.
xi. 4-8.	xii. 35-36.	xii. 1-20, 28, 37 b, 40- 41, 42 b-xiii. 2.
xii. 21-27, 29-34, 37 a, 38-39, 42 a.		

The *provenance* of verses 21-24 is uncertain, and some editors would regard them as a redactional addition. Verses 25-27 are clearly such as addition; their tone and style strongly recall those of *Deuteronomy*.

J.	E.	P.
xiii. 3-16, 21-22.	xiii. 17-19.	xiii. 20.
xiv. 5 b-6, 7 b, 10 a, 11- 14, 19 b, 20 b, 21 b, 24, 25 b, 27 b, 28 b, 30-31.	xiv. 3, 5 a, 7 a, 15 b, 16 a, 19 a, 20 a, 25 a.	xiv. 1-2, 4, 8-9, 10 b, 15 a c, 16 b-18, 21 a c, 22-23, 26-27 a, 28 a, 29.
xv. 1-2, 22-25 a, 26-27.	xv. 3-21, 25 b.	

The "Song" is possibly later than any of the main documents, and may have been inserted by a comparatively late editor.

J.	E.	P.
xvi. 1 b-7.	xvi. 4.	xvi. 1-3, 5-36. xvii. 1 a.

The presence of the two elements is clear, but their assignment is very uncertain.

J.	E.	P.
xix. 3 b-6 a, 9, 11 b-13 a.	xvii. 8-16. xviii. 1-27. xix. 2 b-3 a, 6 b-8, 10- 11 a, 13 b-17, 19. xx. 1-xxiv. 15, 18 b. xxi. 18 b. xxii. 1-35. xxiii. 5-11. xxiv. 1.	xix. 1-2 a. xxiv. 16-18 a. xxv. 1-xxxi. 18 a. xxiv. 29-35. xxxv-xl.
xxiii. 1-4, 12-33. xxiv. 2-28.		

J.	E.	P.
<i>Numbers.</i>		
x. 29-33.	x. 34-36.	i. 1-x. 28.
xi. 4-6, 10, 13, 18-24 a,	xi. 1-3, 11-12, 14-17,	xi. 7-9.
31-34.	24 b-30.	
xii. 16 a.	xii. 1-15.	xii. 16 b.
xiii. 17 b.	xiii. 17 c.	xiii. 1-17 a.
	xiv. 1 b.	
		xiv. 1 a, 2, 5-7, 10, 26-30, 33-38.
xiv. 3-4.		
	xiv. 8, 9, 11-25.	
xiv. 31-32, 39 b, 40 b,	xiv. 39 a, 40 a, 40 c-41 a,	
41 b, 43, 45 b.	42, 44-45 a, 45 c.	
	xvi. 1 b, 2 a, 12-15, 25, 26, 27 b.	xv. 1-41.
		xvi. 1 a, 2 b-11, 16-24, 27 a, 35-50.
xxi. 28-31, 33 a.	xvi. 32, 33 b-34.	xvii. 1-xix. 22.
	xx. 1 b, 5, 8 a, 8 c-9, 11,	xx. 1 a, 2-4, 6-7, 8 b,
	14-21.	10, 12-13, 22-29.
xxii. 1-3, 32-35.	xxi. 4 b-9, 12-31.	xxi. 4 a, 10-11.
xxii. 3 b-5 a, 5 c, 6, 7,	xxii. 2-3 a, 5 b, 5 d, 8-	xxii. 1.
11, 17-18, 21 b, 22-	10, 12-16, 19 21 a,	
35, 37, 39.	21 c, 36, 38, 40-41.	
xxiv. 1-25.	xxiii. 1-30.	
xxv. 1 b-2, 3 b-4.	xxv. 1 a, 3 a, 5.	xxv. 6-xxxvi. 13.
<i>Deuteronomy.</i>		
	xxxiv. 1 b-6.	xxxii. 48-52.
		xxxiv. 1 a, 7-12.

It remains to add only that we may for the present regard the whole of *Leviticus* as coming under the general head of P.

IV. FURTHER ANALYSIS OF SOURCES

Our next step must be to inquire whether we can go farther in the analysis of the three main *strata* which have been already indicated. In other words, can we assume that there ever were such documents as J, E, and P, and, if there were, is it possible that they themselves were composite before they reached the compilers who united the three into a single whole?

If we read through each of the three groups separately, the first impression made upon us, especially in *Genesis*, is that we have a number of more or less isolated stories which have been put together by a compiler. Many, if

not all, of the sections are apparently self-contained, and can be read without reference to what precedes and what follows. There is, admittedly, a certain unity of subject, and there is a background with which the original reader may be expected to be familiar. But, to take a single example, the narratives assigned to the J and E sections of *Exodus* and *Numbers* are in no sense a history of Israel during the wilderness period, and there is no certainty that the events between the great Covenant and the arrival in Moabite territory (there are very few of them) are placed even in chronological order. Such narratives as appear in P are obviously designed to serve as a framework for the legal (including the ritual) sections, and, as such, have a greater appearance of unity, even on the surface. Yet here also it might conceivably be maintained that the narratives come from a circle of story-tellers and not from a document in the strict sense of the term.

More detailed examination, however, shows that the connexion between the various stories is often too close to be the result of casual synthesis.¹ The P narratives in *Genesis*, for instance, are linked together in a way which cannot be explained simply by a theory of editorial redaction. The final compiler would not have taken the trouble so to modify the P story of Creation as to make it anticipate that of the Flood, nor would he have edited the P Flood story in such a way as to make it follow on the story of Creation. The E narratives in *Genesis* are, perhaps, less closely connected than those of either of the other *strata*, yet a common thread and purpose can be traced through many of them. E in *Exodus* and *Numbers*, on the other hand, does present us with something like a continuous history, at least up to the Covenant and after the removal from Moabite territory. And we may make the same remark of J, though there appear to have been several stages in the growth of this document before it reached the form in which it was combined with E.

The last remark introduces our second question: are the

¹ Cp. especially, Eissfeldt, "The Smallest Literary Unit in the Narrative Books of the Old Testament," in *Old Testament Essays*, publ. Griffin (1927).

three primary documents themselves compilations from earlier works? It may be said at once that there are occasionally indications in the narratives which suggest that the answer should be in the affirmative. Once or twice, even within the limits of J and E respectively, we find traces of doublets. We have, for instance, two presentations of Noah. In Gen. vi. 9-ix. 19 he is the hero of the Flood, while in ix. 20-27 he is the first grower of the vine. The two presentations are not incompatible, but they suggest a different origin. In Gen. xii. 9-20 and xxvii. 1-10 we hear of a patriarch lying in regard to his wife for his safety's sake. Now it is quite possible that the two should have had the same origin, but, in view of other facts, the natural supposition is that the stories are drawn from different sources, and that that in which Isaac appears is due to a later edition—we can go no further than that—of the original collection.

It is usual, then, to recognize that in J we have a comparatively short early collection, which was gradually enlarged by the addition of fresh material, drawn from the same general cycle of narratives, but finding its place in the final collection at different times. The limits of the original "book" are somewhat variously defined by different scholars.¹

Similar phenomena, though they are less obvious, have been detected in E. But when we turn to P, we find, more than anywhere else, clear and distinct evidence of compilation from earlier sources. The first, and most obvious early element (and it should never be forgotten that all scholars have recognized that there are very early elements in P, whatever may be the date of its final form) is a collection of laws, mainly dealing with ceremonial purity, now found in Lev. xvii-xxvi. The introduction: "This is the thing which the Lord hath commanded" (xvii. 2) and the conclusion: "These are the statutes and judgements, and

¹ Eissfeldt (*Hexateuchsynopse* [1922]) has gone so far as to make a clear distinction between this older compilation, which he calls "L,"—a Lay document, and the later elements, to which he would confine the symbol J. Mowbray (see *The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch* [1927]) has isolated a primitive document which he calls K, and which, he believes, has been subjected to repeated revision. Most scholars, however, are content to use "J¹," "J²," etc.

laws, which the Lord made between him and the children of Israel in mount Sinai by the hand of Moses" (xxvi. 46), suggest that we have here a complete and independent code. The impression is borne out by two other considerations. In the first place, we find here a number of laws which are repeated elsewhere, though usually with slight differences. Thus we have injunctions as to the observance of the Sabbath (xix. 3, 30). Molten images are forbidden (xix. 4). A fallow year is to be observed (xxv. 2-7), though the regulations do not at all agree with those given in *Exodus*. The *Lex talionis* is repeated, almost in the same words as in Exod. xxi. 23-25. All this, and much more, suggests an independent code. Still more striking is the general tone, which resembles *Deuteronomy* (from which, however, the code is widely removed in point of style) in its humanitarianism and its exclusiveness. In substance it shows striking similarities with *Ezekiel*, especially with chs. xl ff. The greater part is devoted to laws of ceremonial cleanliness, with special reference to the priesthood, and the thought is constantly repeated that, since Yahweh is holy, His people must be holy also. It is from this latter feature that the code derives its modern name of the "Law (or Code) of Holiness," and its common designation by the letter H. We may add that, in the opinion of some scholars even H, in its present form, has been produced by the expansion of an original nucleus.

Similar phenomena, though less clearly marked, suggest that there are other elements to be found within the limits of P, even after H has been isolated. It is possible to trace a regular continuity throughout the whole of the Pentateuch, and to observe the sections which do not fit in with it, except on the assumption that they are later insertions, due to a series of revisions. Beginning with the story of Creation, this groundwork of P proceeds, by means of genealogies, to link the beginning of the world with the birth of Moses, pausing only to describe at some length the Flood, and Abraham's purchase of the field of Machpelah. The real interest of the narrative begins with the revelation to Moses, and this is followed by the deliverance

from Egypt (P mentions five plagues only, three of which are identical with plagues named in J, and the other two appear to be alternative forms of two others found in the older source), including fairly full prescriptions for the observance of the Passover. The miraculous crossing of the Red Sea is then described, and, after an account of the sending of the Manna, the people are brought to Sinai. Moses ascends into the mountain, and receives instructions as to the making of the Ark, the building of the Tabernacle, and the consecration of Aaron and his family. These instructions are carried out.

The Law is then given from the Tabernacle, dealing first with various types of offerings and sacrifices, then passing on to forms of "uncleanness," *i.e.* that which places people temporarily or permanently outside the religious community of Israel. This section of the Law concludes with the ritual of the Day of Atonement. At this point the priestly writers embodied H, adding notes from time to time. Once or twice new laws are inserted; *e.g.* in Lev. xxv P appends the law of Jubilee to the H law of the sabbatical year. Laws concerning vows follow, and a fairly long section is devoted to the priesthood. Arrangements are made for the orderly grouping of the tribes about the Tabernacle, and sundry ritual laws are added, possibly belonging to a later *stratum*, though some of the ritual involved is probably very ancient.

Then Israel moves from Sinai, and marches straight to the Wilderness of Paran. Thence spies are sent, including Joshua, who traverse the whole length of Palestine, finally bringing back the report that the land is not good. The people refuse to attempt an entry, the spies (except Caleb and Joshua) fall by disease, and the people are condemned to wander for forty years in the wilderness.

The remainder of P in *Numbers* contains laws of various kinds, mostly ritual. Not infrequently incidents are described which serve to reinforce or to illustrate the priestly law in general. Thus, the rebellion of Korah established the Aaronic priesthood, and the case of the daughters of Zelophehad introduces the law of female inheritance in the

absence of male heirs.¹ The account of the settlement of the Transjordanic tribes is based on JE, but it has been revised by a priestly hand, and P probably contained some mention of the affair. Itineraries and a census are included, and with the appointment of Cities of Refuge on the east of Jordan, Israel is brought to the point at which she is about to enter the promised land.

To the later elements belongs a large number of small notes and expansions, which, by some peculiarity in form, or by some unsuitability to their present context, betray a later origin. A good example occurs in Exod. xxix. 38-42, where rules for the daily offering, repeated in Num. xxxviii. 3-8, interrupt the instructions for the consecration of the altar. Again, at the beginning of ch. xxx the construction of the golden altar of incense is commanded. Elsewhere P speaks as if there were only one altar, *i.e.* the great altar of burnt-offering. Since, however, the whole represents much the same point of view, the distinction between the various *strata* of P is not of great importance for the student of Israel's religious history, and if it be desired to enter into details, they can readily be obtained from any good modern commentary.

V. DEUTERONOMY

We now reach the last of the five books of the Law. *Deuteronomy* covers a brief period at the end of the life of Moses, and, in its present form, contains simply his final charge to the people. But it stands markedly apart from all the rest of the Pentateuch, both in style and in outlook. Its kernel is a code (chs. xii-xxvi, xxviii), to which is prefixed a hortatory introduction in chs. i-xi. The code itself resembles that of E (Exod. xxi-xxiii), and nearly every law in the shorter document is reproduced in the longer, though often in a considerably modified form.² There is also a

¹ Two other narratives of this type, the story of the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath and the account of the annihilation of Midian, probably belong to a later stage in the development of the document.

² For a complete list of parallels between Deut. on the one hand, and JE and P (including H) on the other, see Driver, *Deuteronomy*, pp. iv-vii (1902).

number of laws in *Deuteronomy* which find no place in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx-xxiii).¹

A comparison of the two codes, E and D, makes clear one striking fact: when the same law appears in both, if there be a difference in the form, it will be found that the law of D is the milder, and carries with it a distinctly humanitarian tone. One illustration will suffice. In Exod. xxi. 2-11 and Deut. xv. 12-18 we have the law of limited slavery. In both codes the period is defined as six years. But in E it is expressly stated that the slave is to go free exactly as he entered bondage. If he has married and has begotten children, he must leave them behind, or, as an alternative, submit to the ceremony which transforms him into a permanent slave. In D nothing is said about the slave's wife or children, but his master is enjoined to give him such presents as will enable him to make a fresh start in life. Permanent slavery is still contemplated, but the motive is assumed to be love for the master himself. There is no direct contradiction here, but E, when dealing with a female slave, expressly states that she is not liable to be liberated; she is a permanent slave in any case, and the best that the legislator can do is to secure her rights if her master marries her to himself or to his son. In D, on the other hand, it is expressly stated that she stands on the same footing as the male slave. We receive the same impression of sympathy for the poor and oppressed in other instances.

The laws found in D, but not in E, are equally instructive. Some of them are ritual and ceremonial; many of these were probably intended to be condemnation of Gentile practices. Such are the prohibition of disfigurement in mourning (Deut. xiv. 1-2), of interchange of garments between the sexes (xxii. 5), and of *Asherahs* and *Massēbahs*. But we have others which, again, suggest a high degree of sensitiveness to human feeling. One of the best illustrations is the law in Deut. xxiv. 16, which ordains that the family of a criminal is not to suffer with him. A like

¹ There are occasional parallels with the J code in Exod. xxxiv, but these may be neglected, since, in every instance, the law is also found in the E code.

sympathy is extended to animals; a mother-bird is not to be taken with her eggs (xxiii. 6-7), the ox is not to be muzzled as he treads out the corn (xxv. 4). The most striking difference, however, concerns a matter of ritual. E evidently contemplates the possibility that there will be a number of altars on which sacrifice may be offered to Yahweh; D (Deut. xii. 1-16) insists that there can be but one.¹

The earlier chapters of *Deuteronomy* form an exhortation, or rather a series of exhortations. They are written in a highly characteristic style with long and (for Hebrew) rather complex sentences. Again and again the text insists on right relations between Yahweh and His people, or rather on the maintenance by Israel of a right attitude towards her God. The first address of Moses occupies chs. i. 1-iv. 43. This opens with an historical introduction, in which Moses summarizes the history of the people from the giving of the Law down to the time at which he was speaking. It is a noticeable fact that this section includes nothing that is not also found in E, and may be regarded as a compendium of the history as contained in that element in the Pentateuch. Again, we note that there is little or nothing which *must* have come from J; in particular, the name of the mountain of the Law is in D invariably Horeb, as in E, and not Sinai, as in J (and P). The conclusion is almost irresistible, that the compiler of *Deuteronomy*, even in its present form, had E before him, but no other of our Pentateuchal sources.

It is generally agreed that *Deuteronomy* is not homogeneous, but has, in its present form, undergone revision from its primitive shape. What that shape was we do not know for certain, but there is little, if anything, in the code itself which suggests later addition; the principal question is as to the introductory and concluding chapters. It is generally agreed that the first exhortation, i. 1-iv. 43, was no part of the book in its original form, but opinions differ as to whether the same remark should be made of the second exhortation, iv. 44-xi. On the whole, the prob-

¹ As Driver has said, "Deut. xii-xvi is an enlarged edition of the 'Book of the Covenant'" (*op. cit.*, p. x).

ability seems to lie on the side of that view which holds that, when the Deuteronomic code was made available in its present form for general use, it was already provided with this introductory homily.¹

Ch. xxvii bears all the marks of a later insertion. Moses is no longer the speaker, and there are internal difficulties which suggest the expansion of an original Deuteronomic nucleus, which has been transferred to this point from some other position. In chs. xxix, xxx we have another, or third, address by Moses, which, had it been original, might well have been included in the second, and is, therefore, commonly regarded as secondary. Ch. xxxi seems to contain the conclusion of the original code in verses 9-13, but the remainder is apparently derived from JE. Chs. xxxii, xxxiii consist of two poems attributed to Moses; the intervening passage, xxxii. 48-52 belongs to P. Neither of the poems has any essential connexion with the rest of *Deuteronomy*. And, finally, ch. xxxiv, describing the death of Moses, is apparently derived from the other three main elements in the Pentateuch, J, E, and P.²

Thus it is clear that *Deuteronomy*, like other elements in the Pentateuch, is, in its present form, the result of a process of growth. We can recognize an original document with greater clearness here than elsewhere, possibly, but it remains true that this book has undergone a process of revision. Comparatively little change seems to have been made in the main body of the work, but it has been expanded by additions both at the beginning and at the end. Some, at least, of the extra matter, is due to revisers who were imbued with the spirit and adopted the style of the main document. Finally, the incorporation of the whole into the great body of the Pentateuch led to the insertion of occasional phrases and sentences characteristic of the priestly school, and to the inclusion of a very small amount of narrative derived from the older documents J and E.

¹ Attempts have been made from time to time to analyse D on the basis of the pronouns used. Israel is sometimes addressed in the singular and sometimes in the plural. But the text changes so rapidly from one to the other that a satisfactory analysis on this basis is nearly impossible.

² See above, pp. 25, 38.

VI. THE COMPILATION OF THE PENTATEUCH

Up to this point we have been primarily concerned with the main sources from which our present Pentateuch was ultimately derived. We have inevitably assumed an editorial process; we should now do well to sketch it briefly in detail.

We may start with the earliest form of the narrative material. This would, in the nature of the case, consist of stories told in various parts of the country—round the shepherds' fires at night, at the city gates, and, above all, at the various sanctuaries, where the priests would instruct the worshippers in the traditions of the shrine at which they offered their gifts. In course of time these would be collected, and continuous histories would be formed. Two such histories, both comparatively ancient, have come down to us; they are those indicated by the symbols J and E. In one or two other instances it seems that narratives now incorporated in the Pentateuch maintained an independent existence through the centuries till they were incorporated in the text as we now have it. A good illustration is to be found in Gen. xiv; while some scholars hold that the account of the sack of Shechem (Gen. xxxiv) contains a narrative derived, not from E, but from some source not otherwise represented in the Pentateuch, in addition to the J element, whose presence is generally admitted.

The next stage that we note is the combination of J and E, which are sometimes so closely interwoven as to defy accurate and certain disentangling. E, however, was used as the basis for another document containing a summary of the historical element (from the giving of the Law onwards) and an expansion of the legal. This we know as *Deuteronomy* (D), and the evidence shows that it, like other parts of the Pentateuch, underwent a certain amount of revision. This document was the product of a school of thinkers and writers who did not confine their attention merely to the book of *Deuteronomy*, but also studied and revised a great deal of the older material. We find not infrequently in *Exodus* and *Numbers* (though not in *Genesis*),

passages which can be explained best as due to a revision by this school.¹

Our next "source" is a collection of laws, mainly ritual and ceremonial, to which the name "Law of Holiness" has been given. This is at present incorporated in P, apparently by the earlier compilers of that work. The Priestly document seems to have had an independent existence, but was used as a framework by the final compilers of the Pentateuch, who, imbued with its attitude, and writing in its style, took the existing works and bound them together into a single whole. It goes without saying that at each stage of development a certain modicum of editorial matter was introduced, partly to smooth over awkward joints and partly to produce a certain harmony of the whole. This latter end, however, has been very imperfectly attained, and it still remains possible to separate, in the main, the earlier documents of which the whole has been composed.

VII. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE DOCUMENTS

Before proceeding to discuss the dating, it will be convenient briefly to glance at the characteristic features of each of these documents. J and E we can treat together. Both are written in the best style of the golden age of Hebrew prose. If there is a difference to be observed, it is to be found in the lighter and more delicate touch of J in narrative. He² has the gift of bringing a whole scene vividly before his readers with a few clear words, and it is in no small part due to his genius that the stories of the Pentateuch are among the best known in the world.

The principal theological distinction between the two

¹ Examples may be seen in such passages as Exod. xii. 25-27 and xiii. 8-9, where the stress is laid on the constant remembrance of the deliverance from Egypt, the expansion of the law prohibiting the graven image in Exod. xxx. 4-6, where the language recalls Deut. vii. 9 and the reference to Og in Num. xxi. 33-35. The activities of this school do not end with the Pentateuch, and they are far more in evidence in *Joshua* and *Judges*. As we shall see later, we may even ascribe to it the present form of the books of *Kings*.

² It is, of course, admitted that J, as it now appears in the prose narratives of the Old Testament, is the work of a "school" rather than of an "author," but the present writer feels that the original nucleus around which the whole has grown was probably the work of a single hand. (Cp. pp. 39 f.)

documents has already been noticed. For the rest, they have much in common. Both strongly represent the outlook of that element in Israel's religious life which we may call the prophetic, though, when we use this term, we must think of Elijah and not of the canonical prophets. Both recognize only one God for Israel though neither in the least suggests a true monotheism. J carries back the worship of Yahweh by Israel's ancestors to a very early period, while E makes it originate with the revelation to Moses. The mythology of J (E has no mythological stories) at times suggests an ultimate polytheistic basis, but that has been largely eliminated. Both are interested in matters of worship, and record frequently the foundation of shrines by the patriarchs. The scanty fragment of law which appears in J is almost confined to matters of ritual, and the E code opens with regulations for the altar, besides including the provisions also found in J. In both the ethical element is clear and strong; though some acts which a more developed conscience would condemn pass without comment, yet the general stress is laid upon righteousness and fair dealing as between man and man.

The connexion between J and the south, and between E and the north, has already been mentioned.¹ J is interested in the southern sanctuaries, especially in Hebron, while E has a wider range of reference. The names which E brings into prominence are those which are connected with the north—Reuben, Joshua, etc., while in the J narratives it is Judah and the southern heroes (*e.g.* Caleb) who stand out. E is familiar with Egyptian matters, though, apparently with the Egypt, not of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties,² but of a rather later period.

We have already touched on some of the characteristics of H, its hortatory passages, in which we have the beginnings of Hebrew rhetorical prose, its stress on Yahweh's holiness and on His demand for holiness in His people. We have also noted the close resemblances between H and *Ezekiel*, on which it will suffice to quote Driver: "Both breathe the same spirit; both are actuated by the same

¹ See p. 30.

² *I.e.* roughly between 1600 and 1200 B.C.

principles, and aim at realizing the same ends. Thus both evince a special regard for the 'sanctuary' . . . and prescribe rules to guard it against profanation; both allude similarly to Israel's idolatry in *Egypt* . . . and to the 'abominations' of which Israel has since been guilty; both emphasize the duty of observing the Sabbath; both attach a high value to ceremonial cleanness, especially on the part of the priests; both lay stress on abstaining from blood, and from food improperly killed . . . and both further insist on the same moral virtues, as reverence to parents, just judgement, commercial honesty, and denounce usury and slander. . . ."¹ In other words, in spite of differences which prohibit identity of authorship,² both emanate from the same circle, *i.e.* the pre-exilic Jerusalem priesthood. H, in the form in which it came into the hands of the priestly compiler, was clearly a manual of *toroth*, or directions as to the religious life and practice of Jerusalem.

If H belongs to the south, D equally clearly has affinities with the literature of the north. Its doctrine of a single altar *may* (though this is by no means necessary) have been originally formed in the interests of a northern sanctuary—perhaps Bethel—for no particular place is specified. It is certainly dependent on E rather than on J, and the hortatory style and rhetorical prose (even more strongly marked than in H) suggest the same period as H and the same general stage of development. As we have seen, it is in a real sense a revision and an expansion of the legal portion of E, and, we may almost say, it bears roughly the same relation to H that E does to J. It is marked throughout by an intense fervour for Yahweh. This is not so much, as in H, a demand for ceremonial purity and external consecration, as an insistence on a higher moral union between God and people. To this end must all else be subordinated. The great deliverance, in which Yahweh first showed His choice of, and His love for, Israel, must never be forgotten—hence the stress on the Passover. All Canaanites ought to have been destroyed on the entrance of Israel into the promised

¹ *Int.* pp. 140 f.; cp. also the list of words and phrases on p. 140.

² Cp. Driver, *Int.*, p. 141.

land, and all traces of their cults eradicated (here, especially in the condemnation of *Maššebahs*, D differs from E, cp. Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3, etc.), lest Israel should be led into apostasy by them. Above all, the supreme motive from which service should be rendered to Yahweh is that of love.

We turn now to P. The literary characteristics of this element of the Pentateuch have already been noticed, especially the rather stilted, yet dignified, style, the orderly arrangement, the fondness for exact details in numbers and in dates, the careful genealogies, and the interest in all things concerned with ritual. In P, as we now have it, whatever views may have been originally suggested by earlier material incorporated in it, the theology is definitely monotheistic; nowhere is the reality of any god but Yahweh suggested. It may be possible to discover traces of anthropomorphism, but these have been for the most part eliminated. God speaks, that is all; there is little indication of the means whereby His utterance is audible, and no human form is attributed to Him. Even direct communication in this way ceases with the revelation to Moses; after his death the will of God may be ascertained through the priestly manipulation of the sacred lot, or by some similar means. The single altar is assumed, and the priesthood is strictly limited, not, as in *Ezekiel*, to the family of Zadok, but to that of Aaron, suggesting a compromise between the rigour of the pre-exilic law of Jerusalem and the wider basis on which the prescriptions of D are founded.

VIII. DATES OF THE PENTATEUCH

We must now proceed to the very difficult task of attempting to determine the dates to which we should assign the construction and combination of the documents we have discussed. Our study necessarily falls into two parts, the *comparative* dating and the *absolute* dating. The former, which consists in determining the order of the documents, is comparatively easy; the latter, which involves assigning each to a definite period, is precarious and often uncertain.

i. *Comparative Dating: chronological order of the Documents.*

For the comparative dating of the documents we may take *Deuteronomy* as a starting-point, since it is obviously related to all the rest. The general conclusion accepted by practically all modern students may be summed up in Driver's words: "It" (*i.e. Deuteronomy*) "is an *expansion* of the laws in JE (Exod. xx. 22-xxiii. 33, xxxiv. 10-26, xiii. 3-16); it is, in several features, *parallel* to the Law of Holiness; it contains *allusions* to laws—not, indeed, always the same as, but similar to the ceremonial institutions and observances codified in the rest of P."¹ While this represents the general judgement, it needs a certain amount of elucidation, perhaps modification.

In the first place, it is difficult to find any clear proof of D's dependence on J. The use of E is obvious, and there can be little doubt but that both the historical and the legal portions of that document were in the hands of the Deuteronomists. But, though there are references to laws which occur in J, it will be found on examination that, in every case, the law appears also in E. A similar statement may be made as to the historical references in D,² though we cannot speak here with the same absolute confidence. But it is clear that J and E belong to the same general age of Israelite history, and we cannot assume that D came in between them. On the other hand, the combination JE may well have been produced not earlier than the construction of D.

The relation between D and H is somewhat obscure. The matter is complicated by the close parallels between H and *Ezekiel*, which have led some writers to suppose that the prophet is the earlier. But opinion is crystallizing into the view that the dependence lies on the side of *Ezekiel*—

¹ *Deuteronomy*, p. xiv.

² There are three instances in which D has a reference to which the only parallel in our present texts is in J. The first is the mention of the "ten commandments," Exod. xxxiv. 28, and the second is the allusion to Kibroth-hattaavah, Num. xi. 34, the third is the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah. In the first case, however, the phrase looks like a later insertion in the text of *Exodus*—it is in any case parenthetical—and the second may well have been a tradition which was found in both documents, and taken by the compiler of J and E only from the former. This must have happened many times; practically nothing remains of E's story of the crossing of the Red Sea, but it is incredible that it should have been omitted from the original narrative. The reference to Sodom is in Deut. xxix. 22 (23), which belongs to a later stratum.

or rather on the side of the author of Ezek. xl-xlviii. But was H earlier than D? The only point on which clear comparison can be made is to be found in the regulations for worship. The outstanding peculiarity of D is its centralization of worship in a single spot, and its prohibition of sacrifice at any but the one altar. Of this there is no clear evidence in H, and if H were an actual contemporary of, or only a little later than D, we should expect such evidence.¹ A really significant contrast, however, may be seen in the law which deals with the slaughter of domestic animals. In Deut. xii. 15 this is expressly permitted as a secular act—clearly an accommodation to the law of the single altar. But in Lev. xvii. 3 ff. such an act is regarded as equivalent to murder, unless performed under sacred auspices. In other words, we have here a statement—and the only explicit statement—of the ancient practice abrogated by *Deuteronomy*. We can hardly believe that the passage in H could have been formulated after the appearance of *Deuteronomy*, and, especially if, as some scholars hold, ch. xvii belongs to a somewhat late stage in the development of H, we have here very strong grounds for presuming a comparatively early date for its original nucleus. In many ways the two documents resemble one another, both in form and in religious emphasis, and we are led to suspect that, while the Deuteronomists relied for their material to a large extent on E, they represent the same stage of general religious and literary development as does the school in which H took its shape.

When we turn to P, it is at once obvious that even the groundwork of this document should be placed later than J and E. It is necessary only to compare the two stories of Creation to assure ourselves of the wide distance which separates the two. The probability is that centuries of

¹ Even in Lev. xxvi. 31 the destruction of the sanctuaries is threatened only as a punishment, and it does not follow that they were in themselves a reason for the punishment. The whole of ch. xxvi—at least in substance—might have come from Amos. Again, in Lev. xvii. 4 and elsewhere we have references to the "tent of meeting" or the "sanctuary." But the Hebrew phrase does not, in any case, imply that the sanctuary in question is the only one, and it may fairly be conjectured that the term "tent of meeting," at any rate, is due to the compilers who inserted H in P. On the whole subject see especially G. B. Gray in the *Enc. Bib.*, Art. "Law Literature," esp. cols. 2738 f., and G. F. Moore, *ib.*, Art. "Leviticus," esp. cols. 2782-2792.

intellectual and theological growth lie between them, though the old story on which the P narrative is based may be as ancient as that represented in the J narrative. When we compare P with *Deuteronomy*, however, we must base our judgement on other grounds. While the laws of P are mainly ritual and those of D mostly ethical and social, there are points of contact. One of the most obvious of these is the position of the priesthood. In D (and, incidentally, in H) all members of the family of Levi are priests; there is nothing to suggest a distinction of order within the sacred tribe. But in *Ezekiel* we do meet with a difference. Owing to their presumed apostasy, the priests of the local sanctuaries (in D placed on the same level as their Jerusalem brethren) are degraded to menial duties in the ideal scheme, while the true officiating priesthood is confined to the family of Zadok. The same distinction is made in P, though there the range of the priesthood proper seems somewhat wider, and includes all the descendants of Aaron.¹ The prescriptions for the Passover in D and P vary considerably, and even contradict one another. In J, E and P it is essentially a household festival; D attempts to centralize it and have it observed by all Israelites in the one sanctuary—clearly a part of the general policy which is characteristic of D. The P regulations strongly suggest a return, to some extent, to the older form, since the new order is clearly impracticable. The actual practice in the later Judaism was a combination of the two; the victim was killed in the Temple and then taken away, cooked, and eaten in a private house. When we add to these facts an obvious acquaintance, not only with E but also with J, we feel justified in placing P latest of the five sources we have identified.

Our general conclusions up to this point may be reinforced by reference to the social conditions presupposed in the legal codes. That of E in *Exod.* xxi-xxiii (and we may add the little J code *Exod.* xxxiv 17-18) is clearly intended

¹ The mention of Aaron in H, e.g. in *Lev.* xxi. 1, 16, 24, xxii. 1, 4, 17, is to be ascribed to the redaction which accompanied the inclusion of H in the body of P.

for a community which is almost entirely agricultural, and whose social and political organization is still comparatively undeveloped. D, on the other hand, while not neglecting the country and the tillers of the soil, obviously contemplates also a city life, with a higher stage of constitutional development, referring constantly, as it does, to the "gates,"¹ *i.e.* to the cities, and laying down regulations for the appointment and duties of the Judges and other officers.² Finally, P is addressed (in its present form), to a community in which the political interests were falling into the background, and their place was taken by ritual and religious ceremonial. Its Israel is now a Church rather than a State.

So far we are on fairly safe ground, but we can be less certain when we consider the relative ages of J and E. It is clear that they come from the same stage in the history of Israelite development, and that their style corresponds closely with that which we can recognize elsewhere as being characteristic of the early or middle monarchy. There are features which suggest that E originated in a slightly more advanced community than J, particularly certain theological assumptions. These may be summed up by saying that the anthropomorphism, which is so pronounced a feature of J, is somewhat mitigated in E. Such phrases as those used of Yahweh in the J story of Creation would be unnatural in E. Revelation comes less often by theophany than by dreams—indeed the dream is a characteristic feature of E. On the other hand, in matters of actual worship J seems to be further advanced than E, especially in its avoidance of any material object of worship, except the Ark and the stones contained therein. With this may be contrasted the fact that E frequently mentions the *Massēbah*, or the sacred pillar, in such a way as to make it clear that it is regarded as a legitimate symbol of the divine presence.

The general impression produced by the two documents leaves us with the feeling that J is somewhat the earlier. At the same time it must be recognized that the two come

¹ Cp., *e.g.*, Deut. xii. 15, 18, xiv. 27, xv. 7, etc.

² Cp. Deut. xvi. 18-19. Their functions in E and other early sources are performed simply by "Elders."

from different parts of Israel, the one from the south and the other from the north. The differences in outlook, then, may have a local rather than chronological explanation; Judah may have been slower to advance in theological conceptions of Yahweh than was the north. Of this, however, we cannot be certain, especially since we know that communication between the two was close and continuous,¹ and there is a slight balance of probability in favour of the priority of J.

We thus reach a probable order, J, E, H, D, P. Once again we may pause to remind ourselves that all the documents (with the possible exception of H) include much earlier material. A good illustration is to be found in E's occasional quotations of songs which seem to be more or less contemporary with the events to which they refer. The curious and almost unintelligible snatch of verse in Num. xxi. 14-15 is expressly stated to have been taken from a written collection known as "The Book of the Wars of Yahweh"; and in Josh. x. 13² we hear of a "Book of Jashar," which meets us again in ii Sam. i. 18. It is universally recognized that P contains very much earlier material, including ceremonial regulations which certainly codified ancient practice, and were handed down from generation to generation, perhaps even in written form. Strength is lent to this last suggestion by the presence of a passage in D concerning "clean" and "unclean" animals,³ which (with the omission of the names of the "clean" animals) occurs also in P.⁴ Clearly both documents have taken the passage ultimately from the same source, for there are slight variations which make a theory of direct borrowing improbable. The Creation and Flood narratives in P are derived from a source which was independent of J, and must go back to an early period in Canaanite culture, though they have been profoundly modified in the course of centuries, and now bear little resemblance to what must have been their original form.

¹ It is significant that both Amos and Isaiah addressed themselves to northern Israel, the former exclusively.

² For the extension of the Pentateuchal elements into *Joshua* see below, pp. 60 ff.

³ Deut. xiv. 4-20.

⁴ Lev. xi. 3-20.

ii. *Absolute Dating.* With this *caveat* in mind we can proceed to the difficult task of attempting something like an absolute dating of the various elements in the Pentateuch. Our only hope of doing this with any degree of success is to find some event, recorded outside the Pentateuch, with which we can definitely connect the origin or promulgation of one of its constituent parts. A mere reference to events recorded in the Pentateuch is not enough, since the writer's knowledge might be derived from some other document, or even simply from oral tradition. Thus Hosea's mention of Admah and Zeboim, and Isaiah's references to Sodom and Gomorrah, do not entitle us to assert that they had J, still less our Pentateuch, in their hands. But in ii Kgs. xxii, xxiii, we have an account of a great reformation of religion, which was based on a book of the Law, discovered in the Temple. The measures taken by Josiah to carry out the provisions of this Law, especially the removal of all sanctuaries except that at Jerusalem, have led to the belief that the book thus discovered was our *Deuteronomy*, though possibly not in exactly its present form. The view has not passed unchallenged in recent years,¹ nevertheless it is still the most usual opinion. That the law of the single altar was regarded by the writers of *Deuteronomy* as an innovation is suggested by sundry adaptations of existing practice. One is the permission to eat the flesh of the domestic animals under secular conditions, a second is the arrangement whereby the priests of the local sanctuaries were to be permitted to come to Jerusalem and officiate there (it is expressly stated in ii Kgs. xxiii. 9 that this provision was not actually carried out, suggesting that it was enjoined in the law under which the changes were made), and we have also the provision of the Cities of Refuge, to take the place of local altars as spots to which the innocent manslayer might flee.

The principal difficulty with which this view is faced is that of explaining how a work, essentially belonging to northern Israel,² should have been found in Jerusalem, and the absence of a reliable and certain solution of this

¹ See below, pp. 65 f.

² Cp. p. 52.

problem has led some scholars to question the correctness of the identification.¹ But it is clear that the discovery of the book and of its contents was a complete surprise to the priests, especially to Hilkiah. We may assume that their manual hitherto had been H or something like it, and the law of the one altar, together with its necessary corollaries, was strange to them. It is hardly likely that a *school* of Jerusalem priests could have kept their aims and work so completely secret that all memory of it should have perished. It must have been brought from the outside as a complete document, and have represented the ideals of a group who had no official connexion with the Jerusalem Temple. This group might have been connected in some way with the eighth-century prophets, and D certainly shows more than traces of their influence. But if we have to single out one especially among them, it is Hosea, and not Isaiah or Micah, on whom our choice would fall. It would, in fact, not be unfair to describe D as E modified by the teaching of Hosea. We do not know exactly what happened to the north after the fall of Samaria, but we have no reason to doubt that, even after the formation of the Assyrian province of Samaria by Sargon in 720 B.C., there was free intercourse between the different parts of the country, and, in particular, Bethel was near enough to Jerusalem to make it easy for the one place to influence the other. We have no means of knowing how it reached Jerusalem, but the important fact remains that a law-book was found in the Temple in 621 B.C. and that all the positive evidence leads us to identify this book with the kernel of *Deuteronomy*, i.e. v-xxvi, xxviii.

If this identification can be accepted we have a *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the book. The only clue that we have as to the earlier limit is to be sought in the tone of the work itself. We have already observed its affinity to the work of the great prophets of the eighth century, especially of Hosea. It is clear that the prophet is the earlier, since he makes no appeal to the law in support of his demands and denunciations. In particular, we

¹ See below, p. 66.

may note the insistence on love. It is true that Hosea's favourite word is *hesed*, while that of D is *'ahabah*, which suggests that we must not make the connexion too close. But the type of appeal is the same in both cases. Further, it is Hosea, more than any other prophet of his age, who denounces the nominal Yahweh-cult of the local sanctuaries as being in reality the worship of Baal. It is a significant fact that every Israelite sanctuary, except Shiloh, which has yet been excavated, shows clear evidence of having been used as a Canaanite shrine in pre-Israelite days. Had the invaders been imbued with the principle which, centuries later, was enunciated by the authors of D, and utterly destroyed the old "high places," with all their emblems, there would hardly have been an opportunity for the development of that syncretism which, to Hosea, was but a thinly-veiled Baalism.

Finally, we may note that the Jewish community at Elephantiné knew nothing of the provisions of *Deuteronomy*. Not only were they evidently unaware of the demand for the centralization of sacrifice (they appealed to their Palestinian brethren for help in restoring their Temple after it had been destroyed by an Egyptian rising), but they actually admitted subordinate deities, including a goddess Anath, alongside of Yahweh, though they regarded Him as their chief God. We do not know when the Elephantiné Jews migrated to Egypt. They may have been descendants of the exiled communities of northern Palestine, moving first to Mesopotamia (where they learnt to speak Aramaic instead of Hebrew¹), or they may have gone as fugitives even as early as the time of Hosea, who makes frequent references to Israelites going down to Egypt.² In any case, the evidence which their documents offer us makes it impossible to carry D back to a period earlier than the beginning of the seventh century. Many scholars believe that the book was the work of the prophetic party which suffered eclipse during the reign of Manasseh (696-641), and this may have been the case, provided that we can assume the

¹ Cp. Oesterley and Robinson, *History of Israel*,² II. pp. 160 ff. (1934).

² Hos. vii. 16; ix. 6; xi. 11; xii. 1.

work to have been carried on, not in Jerusalem itself, but somewhere in northern Israel, possibly, as has already been suggested, at Bethel.

H is, as we have seen, the southern analogue to D. It breathes the same prophetic spirit, but we may suggest that the direct influence was that, not of Hosea, but of Isaiah, whose stress on holiness cannot have failed to bear fruit in the religious thinking of the best men among his people. While it includes much that is comparatively early, there are also elements which suggest a protest against the iniquities of the reign of Manasseh. As a special instance we may cite the condemnation of human sacrifice in Lev. xx. 2-5. This suggests an origin not unlike that often ascribed to D—a prophetic revision of a code already in existence, intended to help Israel to a better and purer religious life after the wicked king should have passed away. But in the case of D the earlier code was still extant, while the older basis of H, if any, must be conjecturally extracted simply from the document itself. Many of the regulations regarding sexual morality, the purity of the priesthood, the type of animal required for sacrifice, the creatures that are ceremonially clean and unclean, together with others, may have been current among the Jerusalem priesthood long before the time of Manasseh, and would not be affected by his policy. But, in its present form, or rather in the form in which it was subjected to priestly revision, it can hardly be carried farther back than the early part of the seventh century.

The *terminus ad quem* for H is obviously the date of Ezek. xl-xlviii. There is, however, a widespread conviction among scholars that these chapters are not to be ascribed to Ezekiel himself, and do not date from the exilic period at all. It is clear that they are not the latest "programme" for the ecclesiastical establishment, but they may have to be ascribed to one of the first two centuries in the post-exilic period. A more reliable point is fixed by D. As we have already seen, the central feature, alike of D and of the reform of Josiah in 621 B.C., is the centralization of sacrifice. That clearly carried with it the secularization of the flesh

of the domestic animals, a regulation which is directly contradicted in H. It does not follow that H is necessarily earlier than D, but it does seem to indicate that H, in a form which included Lev. xvii, was earlier than the promulgation of D, or at least the reform of Josiah. We are thus reduced to assigning H to much the same period as D, *i.e.* to the seventh century.

The approximate dating we have reached for D and H gives a *terminus ad quem* for J and E; neither can be later than the middle of the eighth century.¹ The earlier limit for these documents is more difficult to determine. In style and general quality they resemble writings which must be assigned to the first half of the monarchical period, and they represent the general position of religion and ethics which was accepted by the best elements in the Israelite community in the ninth century. We have, however, no real clue beyond this, and it is not surprising to find that the dates assigned by different scholars vary about a century. There are those who would place E before J, though the general opinion inverts this order. Some would place J as early as 900 B.C., and others believe that E may be as late as 750. We can only say that, in all probability, the true dates lie between these extremes.

From some points of view the dating of P is simpler than that of J and E. Even the "groundwork" is admittedly later than D and H, and even later than Ezek. xl-xlviii. If these last chapters could be regarded as the work of the prophet whose name they bear, it would be necessary to assign P, at the earliest, to a comparatively late point in the Exile. But, since the probability is that these chapters themselves are post-exilic,² P must be later still. If further evidence is required, it may be remarked that, whereas D

¹ It has been held in certain quarters that Josiah's law-book is not D but the E code. The account of the reform, however, with its concentration of sacrifices, makes it impossible to maintain this view, unless we are to regard the narrative of ii Kings xxii, xxiii, as being largely *Midrash*, composed in the interests of the Deuteronomic law at a later period. Such a wholesale surrender of the historicity of ii Kings would need much stronger support than is available from the facts as known to us, though it may be admitted that there are elements in the story (some of the details which refer to the king's action at Bethel, for instance) which are probably due to later revision of the narrative.

² See below, pp. 320 f.

is obviously intended for a community living under a monarchic constitution,¹ P contemplates only a theocratic order.

The point in the post-exilic period on which our minds fasten is inevitably the period of Ezra. In Neh. viii-x we read of a great assembly in Jerusalem, at which Ezra promulgated a law, solemnly accepted and sworn to by the whole people. It is in the record of this event that we have for the first time (outside the Pentateuch) a distinction made between the priests, sons of Aaron, and the rest of the tribe of Levi.² As we have already seen, this arrangement is the most striking difference between the community as conceived by P and that of D, and it is not unnatural to connect Ezra with P, just as Josiah may be connected with D. This gives us the date 398-7 B.C.³ for the point at which P entered into the actual life of Israel. It goes without saying that it was compiled at some time before this, and, since its provisions seem to have been unknown in Palestine (apart from features in which P overlaps D), the place of compilation was probably Mesopotamia. At the same time it should be observed that it shows no direct signs of Babylonian influence, and contains much material, even apart from H, which must have been traditional in Israel long before the Exile.⁴ The post-exilic prophets—Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi—show no acquaintance with P, while their utterances are quite consistent with a knowledge of D. The same remark may be made of Nehemiah, who is to be dated roughly two generations before Ezra. In any case it is difficult to find any strong reasons for denying the general identity of at least the groundwork of P with the Law proclaimed by Ezra in

¹ Cp. Deut. xvii. 14-20.

² Cp., e.g., Neh. x. 28, 34, 38.

³ For the correctness of this date see below, pp. 127 ff.

⁴ We may select as obvious examples the stories of the Creation and the Flood. While both suggest ultimate Mesopotamian origin, they have been so modified as to demand a period of many centuries for their growth, and they must be regarded as a part of the inheritance left by the early period of Mesopotamian influence in the West, i.e., the latter half of the third millennium B.C. The extent to which the primitive tradition might be modified in course of time has been recently illustrated by the discovery of the Ras-Shamra inscriptions, which give us a form of the Creation myth very different from that which survived in Babylonia.

398-7 B.C. As we have already remarked, P continued to receive additions, even before the general combination of all the elements into our present Pentateuch. We cannot say exactly when the whole process was completed, but early in the second century B.C. the Law was regarded as a single whole, with, apparently, no suspicion of its composite origin. We shall not greatly err, then, if we assign its final completion to a date not later than 300 B.C.

IX. OTHER VIEWS OF THE STRUCTURE AND DATES OF THE PENTATEUCH

i. *Structure and Analysis.* What has been said above forms an outline sketch of the position which has been most widely held during the last half-century. There have been, however, isolated scholars who have challenged it at one or more points, in addition to the occasional divergent views which have been noted in passing. The normal analysis has been, on the whole, almost universally accepted. Doubts have been expressed as to the possibility of separating J and E outside *Genesis*, but there are only two or three cases of scholars who have challenged the whole system.

First among these may be mentioned Eerdmans, who, in a very interesting original study of the problem,¹ has propounded the theory that the older narratives had a polytheistic basis, which was repeatedly revised and re-edited. Eerdmans' study of the question contains some important observations, but the theory as a whole has found no support. Löhr,² claiming Eerdmans as his predecessor, has recently developed the view that the Pentateuch was the work of a single individual, probably Ezra, who put together a great mass of earlier material.

The use of the divine names as a criterion for analysis has been attacked in a number of quarters. It will suffice to mention two scholars, Dahse and Wiener. Both call attention to variations in the text of the Septuagint, and argue from them that we cannot be certain of the use of the names Yahweh and Elohim in the original Hebrew text.

¹ *Die Komposition der Genesis* (1908), see also his *Die Vorgeschichte Israels* (1908), *Exodus* (1910), *Leviticus* (1912). ² In *Der Priestercodez in der Genesis* (1924).

This has been met by Skinner¹ and Battersby-Harford,² both of whom show that on grounds of scientific textual criticism the MT is to be held the more reliable in this matter. Dahse himself propounded a theory which resembles that of Eerdmans in that it postulates a series of revisions, and these, he holds, were responsible for the alternations in the divine name. We may further note the type of view, represented by Möller,³ which endeavours to save the unity of the Pentateuch (and, incidentally, its Mosaic authorship) by explaining the two names as indicating different meanings, Elohim being used when the reference is to the God of nature, Yahweh implying the God of revelation. Harford⁴ has no difficulty in showing the weakness of this position.

In any case, the use of the divine names is only one of the facts on which the critical analysis is based. There are passages (e.g. Gen. xxxvii) where that analysis is as certain as it ever can be, in which no divine name is used at all. The whole position, however, has recently been challenged by Volz and Rudolph in a monograph entitled *Der Elohist als Erzähler* (1933). The authors believe that the grounds on which J and E have been distinguished in the narrative portions of *Genesis* are inadequate to support the theory. In many instances where there is an alternation between the two divine names it is to be explained on other grounds. Narratives which others have regarded as composite can be defended as simple. There still remain, it is true, peculiarities in the text which cannot be thus explained away, but these are due to a revision of the original J. As far as the narrative of *Genesis* goes, "E" simply represents that revision. The opinion of two scholars of the learning and ability of Volz and Rudolph entitles their view to every respect, but some will feel, even after reading Rudolph's defence of the unity of Gen. xxxvii, that here we have surely a composite narrative.

On the whole, then, we may say that the analysis hitherto accepted still holds the field; the isolation of P, in par-

¹ *The Divine Names in Genesis* (1914).

² *Wider den Bann der Quellenscheidung* (1930).

³ *Since Wellhausen* (1926).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 45-47.

ticular, is hardly questioned, and is admitted even by so conservative a critic as Orr.¹ Nor is there any serious difference of opinion as to the relative dating of the documents, beyond some uncertainty as to whether J or E is the earlier, and as to whether H precedes or follows D. Neither point is of serious importance. The absolute dating, on the other hand, has been vigorously challenged from two quarters, some scholars seeking to place the whole series earlier than is usually done, others preferring a later date.

ii. *Dates.* As we have seen, the central point for the absolute dating is the identification of *Deuteronomy* with the book of the Law referred to in ii Kings xxii. As supporters of an earlier date we may mention especially Oestreicher and Welch. The latter has acutely observed that there is much in D which can hardly have been applied in practice to the conditions of the late sixth century B.C. The Passover, for instance, could not have been eaten by all Judah in the Temple at Jerusalem. The difficulty is solved by denying that the original *Deuteronomy* intended to enjoin centralization of sacrifice at all. Deut. xii. 2-14, the fundamental passage in this respect, falls into two parts, which are doublets. The former, which does unmistakeably limit sacrifice to one spot (verse 5), is a later addition to the original, and verse 14, which seems to have the same meaning, really means that a number of sanctuaries are recognized as legitimate, provided that they have not previously been used for Canaanite worship. Welch notes carefully how strong the protest still is against Baalism, and deduces from this fact the view that the old cults were still carried on under the old names. We have no room here to argue the point in detail; it can only be remarked that the interpretation of Deut. xii. 14 sounds forced and unnatural, and that Welch might have been on firmer ground if he had assigned the whole of ch. xii to a later period than the main body of the book. Further, there are difficulties created by a theory which throws D back into a period earlier than that of the first great canonical prophets.

Hölscher and Kennett, on the other hand, feel that 621

¹ *The Problem of the Old Testament* (1906).

B.C. is too early a date for D. Hölscher¹ notes the difficulties which Welch also has observed, but solves them by assigning D to a period after the Exile, when Jewish territory was much circumscribed and its population small. The narrative of ii Kings xxii-xxiii is largely, if not wholly, a pure invention. Hölscher accompanies his view of D with a drastic and sweeping criticism of the literature of the O. T. in general and particularly of *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*. Such criticism is necessary if the theory of a post-exilic *Deuteronomy* is to be maintained, but there is a strong feeling among scholars that the extensive excisions required by the hypothesis are not justified on other grounds. To Hölscher D is the law-book of Ezra.

Kennett² seems to have felt most strongly the difficulties created by the obvious northern affinities of D. He attempts to meet these by supposing it to have originated at Bethel, and to have been brought to Jerusalem during the Exile, when sacrifices were still offered, though the Temple lay in ruins. The theory involves a compromise between the Jerusalem (or Zadokite) and the Bethel (or Aaronic) priest-hoods, which was responsible for the later developments in religious literature and practice. This theory has the advantage of explaining how D came to Jerusalem, but it does not account for the description of Josiah's reforms or for the connexion between D and Jeremiah. Both these difficulties, on Kennett's hypothesis, can be met only by a theory of extensive interpolation in the two books mentioned. It may well be that *Deuteronomy* had its proper home in Bethel, but most critics would prefer that its introduction to Jerusalem should involve as little interference with the Biblical text as possible.

X. THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE PENTATEUCH

The text is, on the whole, better preserved than that of any other portion of the Old Testament, perhaps because it was the first section to receive the meticulous care which

¹ Cp., e.g., *Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums*, ZATW, xl, pp. 161-2, 5 (1922).

² Cp., e.g., *Deuteronomy and the Decalogue* (1920.)

the scribes bestowed upon their Scriptures. We have a valuable witness to the general accuracy of the MT in the Samaritan text, which, though it must have diverged at an early date from that used in Judæa, nevertheless corresponds very closely with it. Variations in the Samaritan are often borne out by the Septuagint, which, again, shows less difference than is the case in most books. There are occasional suggestions of an Egyptian form of text which varied more widely than any extant copies, whether in Hebrew or in Greek. If, for instance, the "Nash papyrus"¹ was originally part of a Biblical MS., then *Deuteronomy* must have had two widely different recensions, of which only one has survived. It is usually held, however, that this fragment belonged, not to a Biblical MS., but to a Liturgy of some kind, which did not necessarily follow the Biblical order. The other principal versions also offer strong support to the substantial accuracy of the MT.

¹ For an account of this papyrus, which dates from the second century A.D., see S. A. Cook in *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology* for 1903.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

THE book of *Joshua* stands immediately after the Pentateuch in most versions and editions of the Old Testament, though in the Syriac version the book of *Job* usually comes in between. This is due to the theory that Moses was the author of *Job*. In the Hebrew Canon, *Joshua* stands at the head of the second group of books, *i.e.* the Prophets, and is the first of the historical books known as the "Former Prophets," a group which also includes *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings*.

II. CONTENTS

The book of *Joshua* is the record of the conquest of Palestine by Israel, under the leadership of Joshua. It takes up the story from the disappearance of Moses, and carries it down to the death of its hero. The book falls naturally into three parts: (*a*) chs. i-xii, recording the conquest itself; (*b*) chs. xiii-xxii, describing the apportionment of the land among the tribes; (*c*) chs. xxiii-xxiv, giving the last words of Joshua to the people. Its contents may be described in more detail as follows:

- (*a*) i. 1-9. Yahweh commissions Joshua.
- i. 10-18. Fidelity of the Transjordanic tribes.
- ii. 1-24. Spies sent to Jericho.
- iii. 1-v. 1. Crossing of the Jordan.
- v. 2-12. The Israelites are circumcised and keep the Passover.
- v. 13-16. Joshua receives a theophany.
- vi. 1-vii. 1. Fall of Jericho and sin of Achan.
- vii. 2-26. Unsuccessful attack on Ai; execution of Achan.
- viii. 1-29. Fall of Ai.

- viii. 30-35. The Law read on Mount Ebal.
 ix. 1-27. Stratagem of the Gibeonites.
 x. 1-43. Battle of Gibeon and conquest of southern Palestine.
 xi. 1-15. Conquest of northern Palestine.
 xi. 16-23. Completion of conquest.
 xii. 1-24. A list of kings conquered by Israel.
 (b) xiii. 1-xix. 51. Partition of the land among the tribes.
 xx. 1-9. Appointment of cities of refuge.
 xxi. 1-45. Appointment of Levitical cities.
 xxii. 1-34. Transjordanic tribes return and set up a memorial altar.
 (c) xxiii. 1-xxiv. 28. Joshua's farewell address.
 xxiv. 29-33. Death of Joshua.

III. STRUCTURE AND DATE

It is generally recognized that all the documents which have gone to the construction of the Pentateuch (except H) are found also underlying the book of *Joshua* and that its history is practically identical with that of the five earlier books. For a general discussion of the sources and composition of the book reference may be made to the previous chapter. If there is a difference to be noted it lies in the fact that a good deal more material has to be attributed to Deuteronomic revision in *Joshua* than in either *Exodus* or *Numbers*. The final redaction is due to P, who accepts the Deuteronomic theory of a swift and complete conquest. The following represents in general the accepted analysis of the book:

J.	E.	D.	P.
	i. 1-2, 10-11 a.	i. 3-9, 11 b-18.	
	ii. 1-9.	ii. 10-11.	
ii. 17-21.	ii. 12-16, 22-24.		
iii. 5-6.	iii. 1-3, 8-10 a, 11-17.	iii. 7, 10 b.	iii. 4.
iv. 9-10 a, 10 c- 11.	iv. 1-4, 8, 15-18.	iv. 5-7, 12, 14, 21-24.	iv. 10 b, 13, 19- 20.
v. 13-15.	v. 2-3, 8-9.	v. 1.	v. 4-7, 10-12.

J.		E.	D.	P.
vi. i.				
vi. 2-3, 10-11, 14-15, 16 b-20 a, 20 c-23, 26.		vi. 4-9, 12-13, 16 a, 20 b, 24-25.		
vii. 2-26. ¹				
viii. 1 a, 2 b-9, 14 ac, 16 c-17 a, 19 ac, 20 a, 22, 28 b-29.		viii. 10-13, 14 b, 15-16 b, 17 b-18, 19 b, 20 b-21, 23-26, 28 a.	viii. 1 b-2 a, 27, 30-35.	vii. i.
ix. 3-9 a, 11-15 a, 16, 22-23, 26-27 ab.			ix. 1-2, 9 b-10, 24-25, 27 c.	ix. 15 b, 17-21.
x. 1 ac, 2-7, 9-24, 26-27.			x. 1 b, 8, 25, 28-43.	
xi. 1, 4-5, 7, 8 b.			xi. 2-3, 6, 8 a, 8 c-23.	xii. 1-24.
xiii. 13.		xiii. i.	xiii. 2-12, 14.	xiii. 15-31.
xv. 14-19, 63.			xiv. 6-15.	xiv. 1-5.
xvi. 1-3, 9.				
xvi. 10.				xv. 1-13, 20-62.
xvii. 11-18.		xvii. 1 b-2, 8, 9 b.		xvi. 4-8.
xviii. 2-3 a, 4-6, 8-10.				
xix. 47.		xix. 49-50.	xviii. 3 b, 7.	xvii. 1 a, 3-7, 9 ac, 10.
		xxiv. 1-11 a, 12, 14-25, 26 b-30, 32-33.	xxi. 43-45.	xviii. 1, 11-28.
			xxii. 1-8.	xix. 1-46, 48, 51.
			xxiii. 1-16.	xx. 1-9.
			xxiv. 11 b, 13, 31.	xxi. 1-42.
				xxii. 9-34.
				xxiv. 26 a.

It should be remarked that the analysis is rather more uncertain in *Joshua* than in the Pentateuch. It is held in some quarters that much of the material normally attributed to the Deuteronomic editing of JE really comes from an editor who revised E.² But the tone of so much of this matter is quite characteristic of D, and it has been felt better to retain these passages under that head. The analysis of J and E is at least as difficult as it is in the Pentateuch.

¹ The greater part of v. 24 is probably to be ascribed to priestly redaction.

² E.g. by Steuernagel, op. *Joshua* (1900).

It will be seen that the Deuteronomic editors often included fairly long passages, while in other places their work was limited to occasional notes. A similar remark may be made about P, which, here as elsewhere, seems to delight in formulæ and statistics.

What has been said as to the date of the various elements in the Pentateuch applies to *Joshua* also.

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

The text of this book has been fairly well preserved, and it is comparatively seldom that the student wishes to resort to conjectural emendation. The Septuagint, however, shows that the MT has been in places somewhat expanded by the addition of words and phrases, even after the separation of the Egyptian and Palestinian traditions.¹ In this respect it is clear that some forms of the Septuagint (particularly the recension known as that of Lucian) have been "corrected" by the Palestinian text, but there are MSS., notably the Codex Vaticanus (B), which show wider variations, and suggest a greater independence. Even so, while it is clear that the text has not received that meticulous care which was bestowed on the Pentateuch, it has obviously not suffered very seriously in the course of transmission.

V. THE VALUE OF JOSHUA AS AN HISTORICAL RECORD

A glance over the analysis of the book shows that, while the older sources, J and E (mainly the latter), are prominent in the first section, ending with ch. xii, they occupy but a small part of the second. We may almost say that the first division of the book consists of material taken from the older documents, and revised, first by D and then by P. In the second division, however, the whole seems to have been written by D or P or both, with the insertion of a few brief sentences here and there from J or E.

It is the later revisers, belonging to the Deuteronomic and Priestly schools, who have given to the whole book its characteristic presentation of the conquest. The earlier

¹ Cp. pp. 15 ff.

stories serve the purpose of giving some information as to the details, but it is assumed that the whole land, from the far south to the extreme north, was in the hands of Israel before the death of Joshua. There are, it is true, certain exceptions suggested in xiii. 1 ff., but these are confined to the coastal plain and the far north; the rest is already in Israelite hands, and what is not yet occupied will soon be conquered. The picture is intended to be one of a complete conquest of the land, carried out practically within a single generation.

But, interspersed in this second section (chs. xiii to xxii) we have occasional notes, commonly assigned to J, which tell a different story.¹ So far from being a complete and overwhelming success, the conquest failed to embrace some of the most important parts of the land. Judah could not dispossess the Jebusites of Jerusalem (xv. 63), Ephraim failed to conquer Gezer (xvi. 10), Manasseh left the cities of the Plain of Esdraelon in Canaanite hands (xvii. 11-13). There are also, we may remark, indications of other conquests which are not mentioned elsewhere in the book, e.g. the capture of Debir by Othniel (xv. 14-19), and the sack of Laish² by the Danites (xix. 47-48).

When, moreover, we come to examine the actual conquests ascribed to Joshua in chs. i-x, we are struck by the small number of cities whose capture the older sources report. Jericho and Ai are taken, and Gibeon is accepted as a subject-ally. In ch. x the kings of Jerusalem, Hebron, Yarmuth, Lachish and Eglon are defeated and killed, but not one of their cities is captured, save in the Deuteronomic conclusion to the story, x. 28-43. The earlier documents had nothing to say of the conquest of country to the south and west of Gibeon. Even after the victory over the five kings, the camp is still at Gilgal, in the plain of Jericho, and the great triumph shrinks to the dimensions of a successful raid. In other words, all that J and E had to say of Joshua's conquests to the south of the Plain of Esdraelon was that he secured a bridge-head in the Plain of Jericho, and a small

¹ It should be observed that several of these notes appear also in Judg. i, together with additions of the same type.

² So probably we should read for Leshem.

triangle of territory in the heart of the mountains. No doubt both were, strategically, of the highest importance, and formed a base from which the Israelite power could gradually spread till it covered the whole land, but generations were to pass after the death of Joshua before the conquest could be called complete. Jerusalem, as we know, fell into Israelite hands only in David's time, while the first Hebrew monarch who could really lay claim to the site of Gezer was Solomon.

Ch. xi records the defeat of Jabin, king of Hazor, in northern Galilee. But a king of the same name and locality is mentioned in Judg. iv in connexion with the exploit of Deborah and Barak, and, though we may not feel able to accept the form of the story which brings him into direct political relationship with Sisera, it is clear that one form of the tradition ascribed the conquest of his territory to the age of the Judges. It is difficult to see how an invading army of warriors, on the stage of development reached by Israel, could have made their way through the chain of unreduced fortresses which held the Plain of Esdraelon from Carmel to the Jordan, and on all grounds of probability it seems better to assume another crossing of the Jordan valley between the Sea of Galilee and Huleh with which Joshua had nothing whatever to do. Equally independent of him is the southern movement, whose limit (in the book of *Joshua*) is reached with the capture of Debir by Othniel, and we may suggest that here we have the memory of yet a third line of invasion, which did not cross the Jordan at all, but pressed slowly northwards from Hormah.

It is not difficult to appraise the motives which led to a belief in a complete and comparatively sudden conquest under Joshua. In addition to national pride, we have the theological outlook of that Deuteronomic school to whom we first owe the theory. From its point of view, the supreme peril of Israel from the first had been syncretism. To avoid that, the only safe measure was the complete annihilation of Israel's predecessors. Because, in view of the Deuteronomists, this ought to have taken place, and was, indeed, enjoined by Yahweh, the whole land must have been given to Israel

by Yahweh at once. He would never have demanded the extermination of the Canaanites unless He had also made it possible, and He could make it possible only by giving Israel all the country.

But while the Deuteronomic theory of the conquest (accepted by the Priestly school) fails to commend itself as historical, we may safely say that we have in the older narratives an account of the first stage of the conquest on which we may generally rely. It gives us a picture, as we have seen, of three separate waves of invasion, one by Kenizzites and Calebites (clans later reckoned as Judahite) from the south, the second by the Joseph group under Joshua, which crossed the Jordan near Jericho and made good its position in the hills to the north and north-west of Jerusalem, and the third crossing the Jordan much higher up, and establishing itself in the region which extends from near the sources of Jordan down towards the Sea of Galilee and the Plain of Esdraelon. Even many of the details of these wars, especially those in which Joshua figured, may have a substantial basis in fact, handed down traditionally. The book of *Joshua*, at all events in its earlier *strata*, does give us a fair amount of material which we may accept as historical.

.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES

I. CONTENTS, STRUCTURE, AND REDACTIONAL ELEMENTS

THE book of *Judges* contains three clearly distinguishable divisions:

(a) i. 1–ii. 5: the fortunes of various tribes during the conquest of Palestine.

(b) ii. 6–xvi. 31: stories of Hebrew heroes living during the period between the conquest of the country and the establishment of the monarchy.

(c) xvii–xxi: Appendices describing events assigned to this period.

It will be convenient to start by discussing these three divisions quite independently of one another.

(a) i. 1–ii. 5. This is an introduction to the book as a whole; it contains a summary of the conquests of different districts of Canaan by individual tribes. Most of the material here included is also found in the book of *Joshua*, though that book presents, in general, a very different interpretation of the conquest. As we have seen,¹ in the main, the book of *Joshua* represents the conquest as having been completely carried out by Joshua himself; but in *Judg.* i the tribes wage war individually, and not wholly successfully, against their predecessors after the death of Joshua. It is, however, important to observe that there are indications of this latter view in the book of *Joshua* itself; cp. e.g. *Judg.* i. 21 with *Josh.* xv. 63, where the former speaks of "Benjamin," the latter of "Judah"; cp. also *Josh.* xvii. 12, 13 with *Judg.* i. 27, 28, and *Josh.* xvi. 10 with *Judg.* i. 29. Clearly the compiler of this division had at his disposal one of the sources used by the compilers of *Joshua*. He also had other sources which included more detailed narratives,

¹ See pp. 71 ff.

viz. the story of Adoni-bezek (i. 4-7), and the record of the capture of Kiriath-sepher (i. 11-15).

(b) ii. 6-xvi. 31. Here we have the kernel of the book; the contents are as follows:

<i>Contents</i> : ii. 6-iii. 6 :	Introduction.
iii. 7-11 :	Othniel.
iii. 12-30 :	Ehud.
iii. 31 :	Shamgar.
iv. 1-v. 31 :	Deborah and Barak.
vi. 1-viii. 35 :	Gideon.
ix :	Abimelech.
x. 1, 2 :	Tola.
x. 3-5 :	Jair.
x. 6-xii. 7 :	Jephthah.
xii. 8-10 :	Ibzan.
xii. 11, 12 :	Elon.
xii. 13-15 :	Abdon.
xiii-xvi :	Samson.

Structure. The section ii. 6-iii. 6 is an introduction which gives a summary of the whole period about to be dealt with. Particularly noticeable about this introduction is the interpretation it gives of the historical events, the accounts of which follow. Until the death of Joshua and those of his contemporaries who survived him, it is said, the people remained faithful to their God, but after the demise of these another generation arose "which knew not Yahweh, nor yet the work which he had wrought in Israel" (ii. 10). It then goes on to explain that whenever the people forsook the worship of the God of their fathers He raised up an enemy to punish them; thereupon they turned to Him again, and, as a result, He gave them a deliverer who overcame their enemy, and they lived in peace for a season. When the deliverer died, the process of unfaithfulness, punishment, and deliverance was repeated again and again (ii. 11-19).

When we pass on to the narratives we find that a number of them are prefaced by an introductory formula which offers a contrast to the body of the narrative both in the

description of the Judge and in the style of writing. In the latter the Judge usually appears as a leader in some particular district; he calls together his followers from the immediate surroundings, accomplishes what he has taken in hand, and then disappears. But in the introductory formula the Judge is represented as a ruler over the whole people. These formulæ do, however, illustrate the theory of history contained in the introduction proper (ii. 6-iii. 6), the point of view being that of the Deuteronomic school of thought.¹ They occur, though not in identical form, in iii. 7-11; iii. 12-14; iv. 1-3; vi. 1; x. 6-16; xiii. 1 (that in x. 6-16 is considerably expanded). They are found, therefore, prefixed to the narratives of the Judges Othniel, Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson. The story of Abimelech (ix) is also preceded by a short introduction in viii. 33-35, which is thoroughly Deuteronomic in tone and style. It is clear that this "hero" could not be treated as the other six had been, for he did not deliver Israel from an enemy, and appears rather as an illustration of the sinfulness of the people. We can, therefore, quite understand that the place of the usual formula should be taken by this short introduction.²

The "Deuteronomic introduction" does not occur in connexion with the other six ("lesser") Judges. In these cases we have another, more or less stereotyped, formula: "And after . . . there arose to save Israel . . .," or: "And after . . . arose . . . and he judged Israel . . ." There is also a concluding formula: "And . . . died, and was buried in . . ." In these cases there is no reference to the sins of the people or to their punishment, and the Deuteronomic view-point is entirely absent. It is possible that originally a formula similar to this stood in the place of the Deuteronomic prefaces to the narratives of the other six ("greater") Judges, and to the Abimelech section.

From this general survey two reliable conclusions may be drawn. The first is that a writer, inspired by the ideals of

¹ See pp. 48 n.¹, 71 ff.

² Moore, however, following Budde, regards these verses "not as an introduction to chap. ix, but as a substitute for it" (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, p. 234 (1903)).

Deuteronomy, selected a certain number of narratives about various Judges from the collections available to him in order to illustrate his theory of history. But, in the second place, there were stories of other Judges which, clearly, he did not use, or he would have prefixed to them his characteristic formula. These were, however, inserted by a later editor at various points in the "Deuteronomically" edited book.

We may, then, distinguish three distinct stages in the formation of this section (ii. 6-xvi. 31) of the book of *Judges*: we have, first, the writing down of various narratives; then the collection of the narratives of the six "greater" Judges by a Deuteronomic editor who added prefaces and concluding words expounding his philosophy of history; and, finally, the insertions about the six "lesser" Judges by the redactor to whom we owe the present form of this part of the book.

(c) xvii-xxi: these chapters contain two Appendices (xvii, xviii and xix-xxi), the former (xvii, xviii) recounts the story of Micah's idols, and describes the foundation of the sanctuary of Dan; the latter (xix-xxi) gives the gruesome accounts of the outrage of the men of Gibeah on the Levite's concubine, and the punishment of the tribe of Benjamin. Like the six "minor" Judges sections and the Abimelech section these Appendices cannot have been added by the Deuteronomic redactor, for they exhibit no mark of his influence; on the other hand, it is quite obvious that they contain ancient material; it would, therefore, seem probable that they, too, owe their presence in the book to the post-Deuteronomic editor who obtained them from some ancient source. If this, as seems probable, was the case, it is an interesting fact, for it shows that at least as late as the eve of the Exile documents were extant containing *data* about the very early history of the people.

To sum up, the steps in the composition of our book may be indicated thus: first, the "hero"-narratives in oral form; these were, in course of time, written down; then, collections of them were made; the first compiler of the book of *Judges* utilized more than one of these collections; later, a Deuteronomic redactor worked over the book thus

formed with the object of explaining to his contemporaries what he believed to be the divine method of dealing with His people; later still another redactor added further material from some other early collections.

II. SOURCES

It is clear that the narratives included in the "Deuteronomic" book—stage (b) above—came into the hands of the compiler practically in their present form. Only so can we explain the inclusion of Abimelech among the Judges; and, as we have seen, the compiler himself felt that this figure could not be treated as the Judges proper were. But further, it is evident that even at this stage the work was already the result of a process of compilation, and we must look further for the sources used in its construction. What were these sources, and what was their origin?

The Hebrews, in common with many other ancient peoples, commemorated, at first orally, the exploits of their tribal heroes. Often, we may conjecture, a village would treasure the memory of a local warrior whose tomb was a conspicuous object in the neighbourhood;¹ and families would doubtless have preserved a record of the deeds of some great ancestor. Sooner or later these oral accounts were reduced to writing; isolated written narratives would thus have come into being. In course of time, within the different tribes, such narratives would be gathered, and thus written collections would be formed. These collections, or some of them, were clearly the documents utilized by the Deuteronomic compiler.

But there is evidence to suggest that some at least of these collections were composite. There are, for instance, two accounts of the victory of Deborah and Barak over Sisera. One of these (Judg. v) is in verse, and is probably the oldest Hebrew poem of any length preserved in the Old Testament. It is written with stirring vigour, and frequent beauty of expression, and is generally held to have been composed by a contemporary, even by an eye-witness, of the events

¹ Note the frequent mention of the hero's place of burial, viii. 32; x. 2, 5; xii. 7, 10, 12, 15; xvi. 31.

described. The prose version in ch. iv, though later in its present form, seems to have been independent of the poem, since the manner of Sisera's death differs in the two accounts. In the story of Gideon, again, there were probably three separate narratives from which selections were taken. It may well be that Jerubbaal and Gideon were originally different men, whose histories have been confused and combined. The account of the pursuit and capture of Zeba and Zalmunnah seems to have come from a source different from that of the story of the night attack of the three hundred, and the slaughter of Oreb and Zeeb. It would appear, moreover, that there were two recensions of even this last story, one of which attributed the surprise to the use of torches, and the other to the blowing of trumpets. And, once more, two nearly complete narratives of Abimelech's dealings with Shechem may be constructed by isolating ~~from the rest those portions of Judg. ix. 23-45~~ which deal with the plot and fate of Gaal. In all these cases it is clear that the combination of the sources preceded the work of the Deuteronomic compiler, since the composite narratives in themselves show no trace of his influence.

Since a considerable portion of our book contains ancient historical material far older than the seventh century, *i.e.* long before the Deuteronomic school of thought arose, many critics have raised the question as to whether any marks of the influence of the Jehovistic and Elohistie circles are not to be discerned in it. There would be an *a priori* presumption that this should be the case since, in the book of *Joshua* which, as we have seen, has close affinities with *Judges*, there are obviously J and E elements.¹ "There is the best reason to believe," says Moore, "that neither J nor E ended with the conquest of Canaan, but that both brought the history down to a much later time, if not to their own day. The parting speech of Joshua (*Josh.* xxiv, substantially E) looks not only backward but forward; it is the end of a book, not of the historical work of which it formed a part; and *Judg.* ii. 6-10 (*Josh.* xxiv. 28-31), from the same hand, is unmistakably the transition to the subse-

¹ See above, pp. 69 f.

quent history.”¹ It is, indeed, quite evident that in certain parts of our book some of the characteristic marks of the writers belonging to these circles are to be traced; in the story of Gideon’s call, for example, the use of the name *Yahweh* occurs throughout one form of the narrative (vi. 11 ff.), while in the other form (vi. 36–40) *Elohim* is used. But for the study of this subject, in regard to the details of which critical opinion is not unanimous, recourse must be had to the Commentaries.²

III. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION

Taking it as a whole, the Hebrew text of our book has come down to us in a comparatively pure form. Though textual corruptions of various kinds occur, especially in the Song of Deborah, the text is, generally speaking, in a satisfactory state. Where corruptions occur it is from the Septuagint that most help for emendation is to be derived. At the same time, it is to be noted that the relation between the Septuagint and the Massoretic text is very complicated. For there are two Greek translations of the Hebrew text of *Judges*. This interesting fact was first shown to be the case by Grabe;³ it was dealt with and more fully developed by Lagarde;⁴ and later it was independently treated by Moore.⁵

The earlier of these two translations is represented by the great majority of the Septuagint MSS.; especially important, however, are three groups of cursives which are related to this translation; one of these groups consists of “Lucianic” MSS., *i.e.* they contain Lucian’s revision of the Septuagint,⁶ which, according to Budde, is, so far as *Judges* is concerned, the oldest and best Greek text. The other translation is represented by the Vatican Codex (B) and a number of cursives, as well as the Sahidic Version; it is considerably later, Moore assigns it to well into the fourth century A.D.,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxv; as Moore also remarks: “The symbols J and E represent, not individual authors, but a succession of writers, the historiography of a certain period and school.”

² See especially, Budde, *Das Buch der Richter*, pp. xii ff. (1897).

³ *Epistola ad Millium* (1705).

⁴ *Septuaginta-Studien*, pp. 1–72; Lucianic text (1892).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. xlv–xlvii, and throughout his Commentary.

⁶ Beginning of the fourth century A.D.

it follows the Massoretic text more closely than the other translation. Cod. B, which offers otherwise such an excellent text, must be regarded as quite secondary in importance, so far as *Judges* is concerned.

IV. HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS VALUE

From what has been said about the sources of our book, some of which go back in origin to an early time, it is evident that the book of *Judges* is of great historical value; indeed, without it we should lack almost all detailed knowledge of the history of Israel from the period of the gradual rise to predominance in Palestine of the Israelites to the eve of the foundation of the monarchy. It is true, the records are fragmentary and tell us only of certain outstanding episodes during the long drawn-out process of conquest; nevertheless, they give us a real insight into the way in which this process was carried out. It is but a bird's-eye view, dotted here and there with a few decisive events; but the general course of the history is unmistakable. Moreover, the Deuteronomist has all unconsciously and in spite of his theological ideas, indicated the true course of the history, viz. in a word, the ups and downs in the laborious task of conquest.

Of greater importance even is the insight obtainable of the nature of Hebrew religion during the pre-monarchic period. Here we are able to see plainly enough what, in spite of the acceptance of Yahweh worship, the pre-prophetic religion of Israel really was. This is not the place to go into details;¹ it must suffice to say that, together with many primitive ideas dating from time immemorial, it was a mixing-up of the worship of Yahweh with the Canaanite Baal-cult. That, in spite of several redactional processes dating from times when religious beliefs had greatly developed, the records of these early forms of worship should have been left untouched is a matter of profound interest. We are able, on the one hand, to realize the stupendous task with which the prophets were faced, and, on the other, to see an illustration of the truth expressed by the apostolic writer that God makes Himself known "by divers portions and in divers manners."

¹ See Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, pp. 175 ff. (1930).

THE BOOK OF RUTH

I. PLACE IN THE CANON AND CONTENTS

IN the Hebrew Canon the book of *Ruth* occupies the second place among the "Five Rolls," a group of short books which follows the longer poetical books, *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, and thus belongs to the third section of the Bible. It tells a story of the days of the Judges, which has a bearing on the ancestry of David. A certain man of Bethlehem was compelled by famine to take refuge in Moab, together with his wife and two sons. The sons married Moabite women, and both they and their father died, leaving the three widows. Hearing a good account of conditions in Bethlehem, the mother-in-law, Naomi, decided to return there, and one of the daughters-in-law, Ruth, insisted on going with her (ch. i). The two women reached Bethlehem at the beginning of the harvest, and Ruth went to glean in the fields of a certain Boaz, a kinsman of the family into which Ruth had married, and was kindly treated (ch. ii). At the end of the harvest, on the advice of Naomi, Ruth sought out Boaz by night in his threshing-floor, and he agreed to see the family fortunes restored, acting in the capacity of "Go'el," or representative of the dead (ch. iii). This he did, purchased Naomi's land, and married Ruth, thus fulfilling the family duty, both in the matter of land and of posterity. Ruth bore Boaz a son, who was the grandfather of David.

II. STRUCTURE AND DATE

The story is very simply and beautifully told, and there is no doubt but that it was written as a complete work in practically the form in which we now have it. Possibly the genealogical note at the end is a later addition, intended to bring home the fact that a Moabitess was reckoned in David's ancestry.

The tale is obviously told as one of the distant past. The old custom of taking off the shoe to confirm a bargain

(iv. 7) was still in use when *Deuteronomy* was written,¹ and it is worth observing that the meaning of the act is no longer fully understood. In D it was a symbol of reproach; in *Ruth* it has become merely the ratification of a bargain. The refusal of the second kinsman to marry Ruth lest he should "mar his own inheritance," i.e. *fail* to continue his family line, is intelligible only in an age when monogamy was the rule, for otherwise he might have had another wife through whom he could have maintained his family. Incidentally it may be observed that the genealogies trace the descendants of Ruth, not as the posterity of her former husband, but as the children of Boaz. Finally, we may note that in the language of the book there are several indications of a comparatively late date—Aramaisms, one or two late forms, and some fairly obvious archaisms. There can be little doubt that the book was composed after the Exile.

III. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The book itself gives us our only clues as to the conditions in which it was written. It stresses, apparently, the Moabite element in the ancestry of David. His Moabite connexions are suggested in i Sam. xxii. 3 f., where David, taking refuge himself in the cave of Adullam, commits his parents to the care of the king of Moab. Here the desire is, as it seems, to make the claims of Moab on Israel yet stronger. This suggests an age in which the Moabite was regarded with some hostility, and a broad-minded Israelite sought to mitigate this feeling by reminding his countrymen that the greatest of all Israelites since the days of Moses had Moabite blood in his veins. This would indicate a period in the latter half of the fifth century, when, under the influence of Nehemiah, an attempt was being made to eliminate Moabite connexions altogether from Israel.

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT

The text is well preserved, and there are very few passages where there is any real doubt as to the reading. The versions do not differ greatly from the MT.

¹ Cp. Deut. xxv. 9, 10.

I II SAMUEL

I. TITLE

IN the Hebrew Bible *i ii Samuel* figured as one book, entitled "Samuel"; but originally the books of *Samuel* and *Kings* formed one whole. The division of each of these into two books was due to the Septuagint, in which the books of *Samuel* and *Kings* were together regarded as containing a complete history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah; so that in the Septuagint they appear as one historical work, entitled "Kingdoms" (*βασιλειῶν*), divided into four parts, viz. i "Kingdoms," etc. This was followed by Jerome in the Vulgate, with the difference that he called them *Regum*.

The division of these books which is familiar to us occurred first in the Hebrew Bible published by Daniel Bomberg in Venice 1517-18. Since then all printed Hebrew Bibles have followed this division.

Whatever may have been the reason for giving *i ii Samuel* the title of "Samuel" in the Hebrew Bible, there can be no question that it was an inappropriate one, and it is difficult to believe that it can originally have figured there as the title; for only in quite a few chapters does Samuel play any part, and about half-way through *i Samuel* he disappears entirely.¹ Nowhere is there any indication of Samuel having been the writer of the book; indeed in i Sam. xxv. 1 his death is recorded (cp. i Sam. xv. 35).

II. ANALYSIS

There are three main divisions: (a) i Sam. i-xv; (b) i Sam. xvi-ii Sam. viii; (c) ii Sam. ix-xx. 22.² To these ii Sam. xxi-xxiv are added as an Appendix.

¹ After i Sam. xvi. 13; the section xix. 18-24, in which Samuel is mentioned, is a Midrashic element, and of much later date.

² Verses 23-26 are out of place; see below, p. 87.

These divisions may be analysed as follows :

- (a) i Sam. i-xv. *The story of Eli. The story of Saul to the time of his rejection by Samuel.*
- i-iii. Samuel's childhood.
 - iv-vii. 1. The fall of the house of Eli. Philistine victory at Aphek. Loss of the Ark; its sojourn in Philistine territory; its return to the Israelites.
 - vii. 2-xii. Establishment of the kingdom by Samuel; his retirement.
 - xiii-xv. Saul's battles against the Philistines; defeat of the Amalekites; rejection of Saul by Samuel ("Samuel came no more to see Saul").
- (b) i Sam. xvi-ii Sam. viii. *Saul and David.*
- xvi. The anointing of David. Saul is troubled by an evil spirit. David is sent for; by his playing on the harp Saul is quieted.
 - xvii. David's combat with Goliath.
 - xviii. 1-5. David's covenant of friendship with Jonathan.
 - xviii. 6-16. Saul's jealousy of David owing to the victory of the latter over the Philistines.
 - xviii. 17-xx. Saul's ineffectual attempts to get rid of David. The flight of David to Ramah. The friendship of David and Jonathan.
 - xxi. David flees to Nob; thence to Achish, king of Gath.
 - xxii. David flees to the cave of Adullam; thence to Moab. At Saul's command the priests of Nob are slain; Abiathar escapes and joins David.
 - xxiii. David's victory over the Philistines at Keilah; he flees from Saul into the wilderness of Ziph; thence to the wilderness of Maon. Saul pursues him, but gives up the pursuit owing to a Philistine attack.
 - xxiv. David surprises Saul in the cave of Engedi, but spares his life.
 - xxv. David and Nabal.
 - xxvi. David steals into Saul's camp; Saul's life again spared.
 - xxvii. David sojourns in the land of the Philistines.
 - xxviii. Saul and the witch of Endor.
 - xxix. David and Achish.
 - xxx. David and the destruction of Ziklag.
 - xxxi-ii Sam. i. Saul's defeat and death at the battle of Gilboa; David's sorrow; the "Song of the bow."
 - ii. 1-7. David king of Judah.
 - ii. 8-iii. 1. The war between David and Eshbaal ("Ish-bosheth"). The house of David and the house of Saul.
 - iii. 2-iv. 3. David and Abner; the latter is slain by Joab.
 - iv. 4-12. Death of Eshbaal.
 - v. 1-16. David is recognized as king of all Israel.
 - v. 17-25. David's victories over the Philistines.
 - vi. The bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem.
 - vii. Nathan's prophecy of the permanence of the house of David.
 - viii. David's valiant deeds.
- (c) ii Sam. ix-xx. *A record of the events which happened after Jerusalem had become the capital. Davidic Narrative.*
- ix. David and Meribaal, the last representative of the house of Saul.
 - x. David's wars against the Ammonites and the Syrians.
 - xi-xii. David and Bathsheba. Nathan and David.
 - xiii. Amnon and Tamar. Absalom's revenge; flight to Talmai.
 - xiv. Absalom is received into favour again.
 - xv-xx. 22. Absalom's rebellion. David's flight; Absalom is hindered from immediate pursuit by Hushai; David is thus enabled to reach a place of safety east of Jordan, where he gathers forces. Absalom is defeated and slain in the ensuing battle. Sheba's rebellion; sup-

pressed by Joab. Amasa appointed commander-in-chief of David's forces in place of Joab. Amasa is treacherously murdered by Joab. Death of Sheba.

xx. 23-26. A fragmentary list of some of David's officers.

xxi-xxiv. An Appendix consisting of a miscellaneous collection of literary pieces: xxi. 1-14 is a record of a famine in the days of David; it is interpreted as being due to Yahweh's anger because of Saul's unavenged blood-guiltiness against the Gibeonites. David therefore delivers up the last of Saul's descendants; they are "hanged before Yahweh."

In xxi. 15-22 a brief reference is made to wars with the Philistines, and an account of the prowess of David's mighty men. The psalm contained in xxi appears in the Psalter as Ps. xviii. Another psalm, probably far more ancient, occurs in xxiii. 1-7. In xxiii. 8-23 there is a list of heroes and their valiant deeds; this is followed by another fragmentary piece (xxiii. 24-39), also containing the names of mighty men. In xxiv the narrative of David numbering the people is given.

It should be pointed out here that this Appendix, together with xx. 23-26, has been inserted in a very unfortunate place; and not less unfortunate is the division of ii Sam. from i Kgs. at this point; for i Kgs. i. 1-ii. 11 forms part of the division which begins at ii Sam. ix, *i.e.* the Davidic narrative. It is probable that i Kgs. i-ii. 11 was separated from the division to which it belonged because it seemed to be an appropriate introduction to the Solomon narrative. But this separation having once taken place there was nothing to prevent ii Sam. xx. 23-26 and the Appendix ii Sam. xxi-xxiv from being added.

This very summary analysis is merely intended to give a general idea of the subject-matter of i ii Sam.; there are many subdivisions of which no notice has been taken. But it will be found, as soon as the book is read in detail, that there are two things about it which must strike even a superficial reader. The first is that frequently the various sections follow one another without there being any connexion between them. The second is that in a number of instances the same narrative is told twice over. The explanation of these phenomena will be seen when we examine the sources of our book; for the present it will be well to give the most striking examples of duplicate narratives.

The account of the foundation of the monarchy occurs in two sets of passages: i Sam. ix. 1-x. 16; xi. 1-11, 15; and i Sam. viii. x. 17-25a, xii. There are two accounts of the

origin of the saying, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" viz. i Sam. x. 10-12, and i Sam. xix. 18-24. Narratives of David coming to the court of Saul occur in i Sam. xvi. 14-23 and in i Sam. xvii. 12-58. The rejection of Saul is dealt with in i Sam. xiii. 8-15 and in i Sam. xv. 10-26. There are two accounts of David's flight from Saul; the passages when gathered together are i Sam. xx. 4-10, 12-17, 24-34, and xx. 1-3, 11, 18-23, 35-42. David's sojourn among the Philistines is recounted in i Sam. xxi. 10-15 and in i Sam. xxvii. 1-12. The treachery of the Ziphites is recorded in i Sam. xxiii. 19-28 and in i Sam. xxvi. 1-3, 25b ("So David went his way"). The narrative of how David spared the life of Saul when in his power is given in i Sam. xxiv. 1-22 and in i Sam. xxvi. 4-25a. There are two accounts of the death of Goliath, a detailed one in i Sam. xvii. 1-58, according to which he was slain by David, and another in ii Sam. xxi. 19, where it is merely said that Elhanan "slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam"; with this contrast i Sam. xvii. 45. The death of Saul is recounted in i Sam. xxxi. 4-6, where it is said that he committed suicide, and in ii Sam. ii. 8-10, which says that he was slain by an Amalekite. Finally, in ii Sam. xiv. 27 the children of Absalom are said to be three sons and one daughter, while in ii Sam. xviii. 18 Absalom is made to say, "I have no son to keep my name in remembrance."

These are the most striking duplicate accounts, but there are others. Their existence can be accounted for only on the supposition that *i ii Samuel* was compiled from more than one source. This subject must be considered next.

III. SOURCES

The main purpose for which *i ii Samuel* was compiled was to record the origin of the monarchy, the circumstances which led up to its establishment, and its consolidation under David. In other words, apart from minor details, it is the beginnings of the history of the Israelite kingdom which is the outstanding theme of *i ii Samuel*. This is borne out by the title which, as we have seen, was given by the Septuagint to the compendium which we call the books

of *Samuel* and *Kings*, namely "Kingdoms," *i.e.* Judah and Israel.

Now, in the nature of things, the compilation of such a history, which for the people concerned was of profound interest and importance, would be undertaken by more than one historian; and they would not necessarily be contemporaries. Among the records available some might be accessible to one historian, others to another. So that when the compiler of our book gathered the materials for his history he found at his disposal more than one series of narratives. Thus the majority of modern scholars discern two or more sources which were drawn upon by the compiler, though considerable differences of opinion exist as to the respective sources to which the different parts of the book are to be assigned. Whether two sources were utilized by the compiler, according to some, or three, according to others, is a question extremely difficult to decide; all that can be said with certainty is that inasmuch as there are so many duplicate narratives there must have been more than one source available. Sellin, following Wellhausen, Cornill, Budde, and Kittel, believes in a two-source theory, and assigns, in general, the following portions to the earlier source: a strand in i Sam. i, ii and in iv-vi; the whole of ix. 1-x. 16; xi. 1-11, 15; xiii. 2-6, 15-23; xiv. 1-46, 52; xvi. 14-23; parts of xviii and xx; the whole of xxii, xxiv, xxv, xxvii-xxxi (excepting xxviii. 3-25); ii Sam. i. 17-vi. 23; ix-xx (in the main). To the later source are assigned: i Sam. i-iii in the main; a strand in iv-vi; the whole of vii. 2-17; viii; x. 17-25a; xii; xv; xvii. 1-xviii. 5; xviii. 6-30; xix; parts of xx, of xxi, and of xxiii. 1-13, 14-18; xxvi; xxviii. 3-25; ii Sam. i. 6-10, 14-16. The following passages in the Appendix (*i.e.* ii Sam. xxi-xxiv) are assigned to the *earlier* source: xxi. 1-14, 15-22; xxiii. 8-39.

Neither of these sources, as Sellin is careful to point out, is a unity "in the sense that it can have been written down at first in the form in which we now have it." On the contrary, as he adds, both sources include earlier material of varied origin.¹

It should also be noted that these two sources show close

¹ *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 109 (English edition, 1923).

affinities with the J and E elements, respectively, recognizable in the Hexateuch; the earlier with J, the later with E. Some scholars go so far as actually to assign them to these documents, and the symbols K^J and K^E have at times been used to indicate them.¹

A three-source theory has been recently championed by Eissfeldt;² he discerns three strands of narrative running throughout *i ii Samuel*; but, speaking generally, in *i Sam.* they are largely interwoven, while in *ii Sam.* they are written consecutively. Eissfeldt makes out a strong case for his thesis, which is handled with conspicuous ability; his three strands of the narrative of the foundation of the monarchy are certainly convincing, as will be seen if the following sets of passages be read separately:

- (a) *i Sam.* x. 21b⁸-27; xi. 1-5, 6b-15. (b) ix; x. i-16.
(c) viii; x. 17-21b^a; xii.

But it is questionable whether the three-source theory can be sustained throughout in spite of Eissfeldt's most careful analysis.³

Further, apart from the sources, there can be no shadow of doubt that the book has undergone more than one redactional process; that opinions vary to some extent as to the precise passages which belong to the different redactions is inevitable; a certain amount of subjectivity is bound to come into play here. Broadly speaking, however, it may be said that (1) the book has been considerably worked over by the Deuteronomists, probably more than one scribe of this school is to be discerned; the Deuteronomistic revision is evident in *i Sam.* ii. 36; iv. 8b; vi. 15; vii. 3, 4, 13, 14; xii. 10, 12; xiv. 47-51; *ii Sam.* v. 4, 5; vii. 13; viii; and possibly elsewhere; (2) and that later, post-exilic additions include *ii Sam.* xxi-xxiv; *i Sam.* ii. 1-10 (Hannah's Song); *ii Sam.* xxii. 1-51 (David's thanksgiving), and *ii Sam.* xxiii. 1-7 (the "Last words of David"); though with regard to "Hannah's song," many authorities claim an earlier date.

¹ This has been rightly discountenanced by Kittel, *Das erste Buch Samuel* in Kautzsch-Bertholet, i. 408 (1922).

² *Die Komposition der Samuelisbücher* (1931).

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 56-62. See also Hylander, *Der literarische Samuel-Saul-Komplex i Sam. i-xv* (1933).

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

It is recognized on all hands that, with the exception of the books of *Ezekiel* and *Hosea*, no book of the Old Testament contains so many textual corruptions as *i ii Samuel*. For some reason which cannot now be known, the MS. or MSS. of our book used by those who constructed the Massoretic text¹ were in a particularly corrupt state; the Septuagint translator, on the other hand, had before him a MS. which in numberless cases contained a purer form of text. It happens, therefore, over and over again that the form of the Hebrew text as we now have it presents corruptions which can be rectified by means of the Greek text. Many of these rectifications may not be of much importance, but they certainly often make the meaning of a text clearer. An example occurs in *i Sam. i. 9*, where the Revised Version reads "So Hannah rose up after they had eaten in Shiloh, and after they had drunk";² the Septuagint has, it is true, "in Shiloh" which should be emended to "in the feast chamber," attached to every sanctuary where the sacrificial meal took place³ (see *i Sam. ix. 22*); with this emendation added, it reads; "And Hannah rose up after they had eaten in the (feast-) chamber, and stood up before the Lord" (*i.e.* to pray, as the words which follow show). Or, again, in *i Sam. iv. 13* the Hebrew has: "Eli sat upon his seat by the way side watching" (R. V.), but it is not clear as to what he was watching; the Septuagint reads: "Eli sat beside the gate, looking along the road," *i.e.* looking out for the messenger from the field of battle, which is more graphic. At times the Septuagint has passages which have fallen out of the Hebrew; thus in *i Sam. iv. 1* before, "Now Israel went out against the Philistines to battle," which reads as though the Israelites were the attackers, the Septuagint has: "And it came to pass in those days that the Philistines were gathered together against Israel to war," which shows

¹ See above, pp. 13 f.

² The impossible form of the Hebrew as it now stands cannot, of course, be realized by the English paraphrase.

³ The two words are very similar in Hebrew, and would easily have been confused by a copyist.

that the Philistines were attacking, and that is in accordance with the conditions of the times. Other important omissions in the Hebrew text are supplied by the Septuagint. On the other hand, passages are sometimes missing in the Septuagint which are preserved in the Hebrew, the most notable examples of which occur in i Sam. xvii, xviii.

It is, therefore, quite clear that *i ii Samuel* cannot be studied without constant reference to the Septuagint; at the same time, the Septuagint is by no means always reliable, and caution is always needed in making use of it.

I II KINGS

I. CONTENTS

THESE books record the history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah from the accession of Solomon to the fall of Jerusalem, approximately 970-586 B.C. There are three main divisions:

- (a) i Kgs. ii. 12-xi.¹ The history of the reign of Solomon, 970-933 B.C.
- (b) i Kgs. xii-ii Kgs. xvii. The history of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the fall of the northern kingdom, 933-721 B.C.
- (c) ii Kgs. xviii-xxv. The history of the kingdom of Judah from the reign of Hezekiah to its fall, 721-586 B.C. (more strictly, to the release of Jehoiachin from his prison in Babylon, 562 B.C.).

Within these main divisions there are many subdivisions; it will not be necessary to enumerate these in detail, for many of them will come into consideration later.

II. SOURCES

i. The oldest source was a document which contained the history of the period immediately preceding the foundation of the monarchy; it included also the history of a large part of Solomon's reign, and was probably written towards the end of this reign. It is characteristic of this source that the historical narratives which it contains are told in a pleasant, one might almost say a chatty style. It is a source of high value, for it reveals an intimate knowledge of David in his old age, and of the court intrigues which led to Solomon's usurpation of the throne, Adonijah being the legitimate heir.

ii. The next source is mentioned by name in i Kgs. xi. 41: "Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did,

¹ i Kgs. i-ii. 11 belong to the preceding division, *i.e.* ii Sam. ix-xx. 22; see above, p. 87.

and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the 'Acts of Solomon'?" Here we have definite reference to a work with its title which was clearly well known. It is important to note that the compiler of *i Kings* does not give an exhaustive transcript of this book, otherwise he would not refer to it for further information; we have, thus, only extracts from it. As to the date of this source, from the nature of the case it cannot have been written very long after the reign of Solomon, so that one may date it approximately as belonging to the earlier part of the ninth century. The contents and nature of this source can be gathered from extracts in *i Kings*: it is much more a biographical than an historical narrative. It begins by telling of Solomon's marriage with the daughter of the king of Egypt (iii. 1), then of the dream he had in Gibeon (iii. 4-15). In iii. 16-28 we have the narrative of Solomon's judgement; the parallels to this which are found in other Oriental literatures make it probable that Solomon's biographer culled it from some extraneous source and applied it to his hero. Then in iv. 1-19 there are lists, (a) of Solomon's princes or ministers (1-6), and (b) of his household officers. Whether these lists were actually in the book, or were taken from some official record and added, cannot be said with certainty; but as they seem to be Solomon's personal officials it is likely that the lists figured in his biography. We then come to three long sections; first, Solomon's treaty with Hiram of Tyre, and the preparations for the building of the Temple (v. 1-18, Hebr. 15-32); then, the building of the Temple and of the royal palace (vi. 1-vii. 51), and, lastly, the dedication of the Temple (viii. 1-66). These have been very greatly worked over by later hands; but the kernel, it may be confidently asserted, was found in the "Acts of Solomon." The remaining extracts tell of further dealings between Solomon and Hiram (ix. 11-14); the building of Millo (ix. 23-25); Solomon's wisdom and the visit of the Queen of Sheba (ix. 26-x. 29); and possibly, though this is rather uncertain, the account of Solomon's two enemies, Hadad the Edomite and Rezon of Damascus (xi. 14-25); wherever this last came from it certainly contains some reliable historical matter. A final fragment may well be the words telling of

how Solomon sought to kill Jeroboam, who, however, managed to escape, and found an asylum with Shishak, king of Egypt, until the death of Solomon (xi. 40).

These complete the extracts from the "Acts of Solomon," and it will be seen that they are really *biographical*, so that this source was not an historical one in the strict sense.

iii and iv. These two sources, which may be taken together, are of the greatest importance. They are both mentioned by name, the "Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel," and the "Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah." They are referred to for the first time in i Kgs. xiv. 19 and 29, respectively, where Jeroboam and Rehoboam are spoken of; from this it is evident that these two sources begin their history after the division of the kingdom; this is what might be expected, inasmuch as the "Acts of Solomon" brings the history down to the end of the reign of Solomon. The sources in question are mentioned in connexion with nearly all the kings of Israel and Judah, and since they are referred to for further details about these kings it is clear that they were utilized only in part. That these sources were drawn upon for some of the passages in i ii Chron. which have no parallel in i ii Kgs. is certain,¹ though to what extent this was the case cannot be determined.

Regarding the nature and contents of these two sources, it is to be noted that since we have only extracts from them we can only surmise what they actually consisted of; but one thing is clearly indicated by the nature of many of the extracts, viz. that the sources cannot have been official documents; they did not contain the official annals of the two kingdoms respectively, for they are too human and unconventional for that. A good illustration of this is the account, in i Kgs. xii. 2-20, of Rehoboam's dealings with Jeroboam and his following who came to ask for a remission of imposts; there we get a graphic and interesting narrative as far removed as anything could be from what an official document would contain, and written in a style quite unthinkable in such a document. Since, then, these two sources were not official documents, they must have been

¹ See below, p. 113.

compiled by private individuals; this is not to say that public records were not made use of; they certainly were, it would be an obvious course for any historian writing the history of his country; so that when wars are described, or political events, or public acts by the king, or accounts of public buildings, such as fortifications, royal palaces, etc., in all such cases it is more than likely that official documents were utilized; but the putting together of the material thus gathered was, in the case of the two sources under consideration, the work of private individuals. In general, it is not difficult to indicate the various extracts from these two sources occurring in i ii Kgs., and for the most part scholars are agreed here; they are as follows; to which of the two sources each passage belongs is, in almost every case, so obvious that it will not be necessary to indicate this:

- i Kings xii. 2-20; xiv. 25-28, 30; xv. 16-28; xvi. 9, 10, 15-22, 34; xxii. 44 (Heb. 45), 47-50;
- ii Kings i. 1; viii. 20-22; x. 32, 33; xi. 1-20; xii. 1-16, 17-19; xiii. 7, 22-24; xiv. 5, 7, 8-14, 22; xv. 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 20, 25, 29, 30, 37;¹ xvi. 5-18; xvii. 3-6, 24-28; xviii. 3, 4, 8, 14-16; xxi. 23, 24; xxiii. 29, 30, 33-35; xxiv. 1, 2, 7.

These forty extracts show from their contents their place of origin; and the two types of form in which they occur, viz. sometimes very brief entries, at others elaborated narratives, show that, on the one hand, official records have been utilized, and, on the other, that the writers gave their own account of events of which they were cognizant.

These two sources in their completed form are of different dates; with regard to the "Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Israel," since the compiler of i ii Kgs. makes no reference to the original work in the case of Hoshca—the only reign which is not mentioned in the source—it seems evident that this was completed before his reign, and that a few additions were subsequently made by some other writer; this would give the date of the source as near the

¹ It is worth noting how full ch. xv is of isolated records; they are much in the form in which entries would have been made in official records; evidently all these notes were taken from such.

end of the eighth century. The "Book of the Chronicles of the kings of Judah" is carried down to the eve of the Exile, and will therefore have been completed towards the end of the seventh century; and here again it is likely enough that a few records were added later.

Let it be repeated that while the nature and contents of the passages given above justify the conclusion that, in general, they belong to one or other of the two sources mentioned, there are doubtless some cases in regard to which it would be unwise to dogmatize.

v. Our next source, which is not, however, reckoned as a special one by most commentators, may provisionally be called the "Acts of Ahab." This king is also dealt with in two other sources to which reference will be made later. The reason why all of these are not treated as one source will be explained as we proceed; here it may merely be mentioned that the provisionally named source, "Acts of Ahab," is sufficiently distinctive to permit of its being treated as a separate source. As the provisional title implies,¹ this document is concerned with king Ahab; but not, as in the "Acts of Solomon," with the king personally; it deals with the special episodes of Ahab's battles against the Aramæans; so that while Ahab forms the central figure in it, the source is not a biographical, but an historical one. The extracts from it in i Kgs. will be found in chaps. xx and xxii. 1-40, though these have been considerably worked over by later hands for specific purposes. There are not many instances in the historical books of the Old Testament of so much space being devoted to the history or doings of one king; where this is the case—David, Solomon, Hezekiah—there is either proof or high probability that special memoirs concerning them existed. And since Ahab has a, comparatively speaking, large amount of space devoted to his reign, and since also he appears prominently in another source (the "Elijah narratives"), and was clearly, therefore, one of the more important among the Israelite kings, the supposition that a special document containing his memoirs

¹ Of course there is no such title in reality, it is only adopted here for convenience' sake.

existed does not seem unreasonable. There is a further reason which may be regarded as supporting this supposition. The Syrian power was at this time the most formidable of Israel's foes; Assyria had, as yet, not come within the purview of practical politics so far as Israel was concerned. In the reign of Omri the land had suffered seriously from Syrian inroads (i Kgs. xx. 34); Ahab, on the other hand, was successful in averting this Syrian menace (i Kgs. xx. 29, 30). Further, his Phœnician alliance must have been of great service to his country politically and commercially; and his alliance with Judah was all to the good; the defamation of which he has been the victim owing to the animus of those who lived in later times and judged him from their religious point of view, must not blind us to the fact that Ahab was one of the greatest of Israel's kings. To the people of his own day he was a far-seeing, beneficent ruler, who did a great deal in strengthening the position of his country and furthering the general well-being. These things being so, it is highly probable that memoirs of him existed, quite apart from other official records. An "Acts of Ahab" source may, therefore, be postulated, giving it a title which, it is granted, is not used in the Old Testament. Ahab died, approximately in the year 853 B.C., and as the, in the main, reliable details about his Syrian wars cannot have been written very long after his death, we may regard this source as belonging to the later part of the ninth century.

vi. The next source, from which long portions have been taken, was a collection of "Elijah narratives."¹ They are comprised in i Kgs. xvii, xviii, xix, 1-18, xxi, ii Kgs. i, and, like all the sources utilized, they have been worked over by subsequent scribes in the interests of later points of view. The longest of these extracts (xviii) deals with the well-known religious contest on mount Carmel, the introduction to it being contained in xvii (verses 17-24, the raising of the widow's son, is a digression). While we have in this story some elements of the wonder-tale, there can be no doubt

¹ Although we are treating the Elijah and Elisha (see below) narratives as separate sources, the possibility is recognized of there having been but one source in which narratives concerning a number of prophets were collected; there are references to several others in *ii Kings*.

that the main narrative contains a substantial kernel of historical truth. The next narrative, quite self-contained, tells of the divine manifestation to Elijah on mount Horeb (xix. 1-18). And here again there is an undoubted historical nucleus, but overlaid by some imaginative detail. The extract in xxi, which deals with the judicial murder of Naboth, bears on the face of it the marks of historical truth; but, as in the rest of these narratives, later hands have been at work upon it for their own purposes. The last extract (ii Kgs. i) seems to be not much more than a fragment with a considerable added piece (verses 9-17).

Now in the first and last of these narratives (excluding the fragment just mentioned) Ahab plays a part; it may therefore well be asked what the reason is for the contention, not held by most commentators, that the source which we have called the "Acts of Ahab" is not part of the "Elijah narratives." Apart from the reason already given regarding the personality of Ahab and the important rôle he played in the history of his country, there are these two further considerations: (1) the wholly different nature of the two sources, respectively; the Ahab source is purely historical, the Elijah narratives are mainly personal, while they have a large admixture of legendary matter. Two bodies of such fundamentally different material are not likely to have been comprised in one and the same source. (2) The point of view regarding the attitude towards Syria is quite different in the two sources. In the Elijah narratives Syria is represented as Yahweh's avenger on His recreant people, so that the point of view is one favourable to Syria. But in the Ahab source it is precisely the contrary; the whole attitude is vehemently anti-Syrian. Two such opposed points of view are, again, not to be looked for in one and the same source. The probability seems thus to point to an Ahab source distinct from the Elijah narratives in spite of the fact that in two of these latter Ahab plays a not unimportant part.

vii. The seventh source is of a similar nature to that just considered; it may be termed the "Elisha narratives." These occupy a considerable portion of *ii Kings*; they consist largely of a number of popular wonder tales, and are not

of the historical value of much that occurs in the Elijah narratives. The *naïveté* of the stories marks them as ancient; and in many particulars they have preserved Hebrew customs and belief as these existed in the ninth century B.C.; from that point of view this source is distinctly valuable. In addition, though not much is to be gained from it which throws light on the history of the times, here and there some fragments of tradition appear which may well reflect actual fact.

It is possible that the Elijah—and the Elisha—narratives come from a single source, as many commentators hold; but two facts militate against this: (1) the Elijah narratives, both in conception and form, stand on a distinctly higher level than the Elisha narratives; as compared with the former the latter are almost puerile. The Elijah narratives sometimes rise to a grandeur which is never even remotely touched in the Elisha narratives; and this is not due only to the vastly nobler figure of Elijah, it is certainly in part, at any rate, owing to the finer literary ability of the writer of the Elijah narratives. The compiler of *Kings* may have found the two sets of narratives in one collection, but it is difficult to believe that originally they belonged to the same source. (2) The other reason is the disorder of the Elisha narratives; one has only to read them a little carefully to see that they are chronologically out of place. But this is not the case with the Elijah narratives. That is, of course, not a conclusive argument; but this fact is more easily accounted for on the assumption that they belong to different sources.

The extracts from this source are as follows: first we have a brief notice of what may be designated the call of Elisha (i Kgs. xix. 19–21); this is quite fragmentary and entirely separated from the main body of the narratives. Then in ii Kgs. ii occur several episodes which look as though they had originally been separate entries in the book of Elisha narratives, and which have more or less been welded together by the compiler of *Kings*. Thus, ii. 1–6 tells of the journey of Elijah and Elisha from Gilgal, via Bethel and Jericho to the Jordan; ii. 7–15 describes Elijah's ascent in

the chariot of fire; ii. 16-18 tells of the fruitless search for Elijah's body by fifty of Elisha's followers; ii. 19-22 is an account of the miracle of healing the waters; and ii. 23-25 contains the story of the mocking children. These give the impression of having once been short independent narratives. The next narrative is longer (ii Kgs. iii), and it is an open question whether it really belongs to the Elisha narratives or not. It tells of the battle of the allied kings of Israel, Judah and Edom against the Moabites. The Israelite king, though not referred to by name, is probably Ahab (see i Kgs. xxii. 20, 39), the contemporary of Jehoshaphat, who is mentioned. It may, therefore, be that this chapter is an extract from the "Acts of Ahab"; on the other hand, Elisha plays an important part in the narrative, which inclines one to the belief that it belonged to the Elisha narrative source. In any case we have the echo here of some actual historical episode.

A very long series of Elisha narratives, with additions by a later hand, follows in chs. iv-vii; we need not go into the details of these, they are almost wholly concerned with miracles performed by Elisha; as some of them are strikingly similar to wonders ascribed to Elijah, the possibility of a mixing-up of sources here must be reckoned with.

More important are the extracts dealing with Elisha's anointing of Hazael (viii. 7-15), and the long account of Jehu's rebellion and usurpation of the throne, prompted by Elisha (ix. x); in these a considerable element of actual history is to be discerned. The last two extracts from the Elisha narratives are contained in ii Kgs. xiii. 14-21; one tells of king Joash's interview with the prophet (verses 14-19), and the other recounts the death of Elisha; it gives us another miracle of how a dead man came to life again by being brought into contact with the prophet's corpse.

Taken as a whole, these narratives, while reflecting history in only a minor degree, are very valuable for their extraordinary human interest, quite apart from anything else.

viii. The last source is the "Isaiah narratives" contained in ii Kgs. xviii. 13-(excluding verses 14-16)-xx. 19; this

occurs also almost word for word in Isa. xxxvi-xxxix. That they were not written by Isaiah himself is evident from the fact that he is always spoken of in the third person. There was certainly a collection of narratives extant describing events in the life of Isaiah; that is clear from several things which are said in chs. vii and x of his book; in all likelihood this was the source utilized by the compiler of *Kings*. It may be regarded as belonging approximately to the end of the seventh century.

There are thus eight sources which were utilized in compiling *i ii Kings*. But there are large portions in these books which cannot have come from any of these sources. To these attention must next be directed.

III. DEUTERONOMIC ELEMENTS

i. A striking characteristic of *Kings* is the way in which the events of the reigns of each of the kings of Israel and Judah are fitted into a stereotyped framework of opening and concluding formulas. Thus, *e.g.*, in *i Kgs.* xv. 9, 10 we read: "And in the twentieth year of Jeroboam king of Israel began Asa to reign over Judah. And forty and one years reigned he in Jerusalem"; and in *i Kgs.* xv. 33: "In the third year of Asa king of Judah began Baasha the son of Ahijah to reign over all Israel in Tirzah, (and he reigned) twenty and four years." That is the introductory formula; there is likewise a stereotyped concluding formula for the end of each reign; for the southern kingdom, *e.g.*, *i Kgs.* xv. 7, 8: "And the rest of the acts of Abijam, and all that he did, are they not written . . .? And Abijam slept with his fathers . . . And Asa his son reigned in his stead"; and for the northern kingdom, *e.g.*, *i Kgs.* xv. 31: "Now the rest of the acts of Nadab, and all that he did, are they not written . . ." The exact words of these formulas often vary in detail, but in general they are the same. A further point in them is that they contain an estimate of each king; and this estimate is couched in one of three forms: it is either a condemnation pure and simple, or it is an approval modified by some words of disapprobation, or

it is whole-hearted approval. The first is expressed in the words: "And he did that which was evil in the sight of Yahweh" with some specifying detail. The second runs more or less in the form: "And he did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh . . ., howbeit, the high places were not taken away, the people sacrificed, and burned incense in the high places." And the third, which is, however, very rare, is expressed by the words: "And he did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh," followed by the details of the king's right action (ii Kgs. xviii. 3 ff., xxii. 2). These formulas also differ, sometimes there are considerable variations, but the essential meaning is always the same.

Regarding these three latter types of formulas, it is found that, with a few exceptions to be considered presently, when a king is said to have done that which is evil in the sight of Yahweh, without any modifying addition, it is a ruler of the *northern* kingdom. When a ruler of the *southern* kingdom is referred to he is dealt with in this way: if he has done evil, there is some extenuating circumstance added; if he has done right, a "nevertheless" is added. The third formula, in reference to a ruler who has done right absolutely, is reserved for two kings of the *southern* kingdom, Hezekiah and Josiah.

As to the exceptions; out of the nineteen *northern* kings there are two: in the case of Shallum nothing is said, for the simple reason that he only reigned a month (ii Kgs. xv. 13);¹ in the case of Hoshea, the last king of Israel, for some reason which is not known to us, it is said of him that though he did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh, yet it was "not as the kings of Israel that were before him" (ii Kgs. xvii. 2). Otherwise every ruler of the northern kingdom is evil, pure and simple.

Regarding the *southern* kingdom there are several exceptions; they are these: *Rehoboam*; he is spoken of as having done evil, but the blame seems to be attached to Judah as a whole rather than to the king specifically (i Kgs. xiv. 22).

¹ On the other hand, judgement is passed on Zimri though he reigned for only one week (i Kgs. xvi. 15-20).

Jehoram, *Ahaziah*, and *Athaliah* are all evil, but the fact that they were related to Ahab, the very bad king of Israel (according to later ideas), is mentioned as an extenuating circumstance (ii Kgs. viii. 18, 27). In regard to *Ahaz*, although he is spoken of as having been as bad as any of the kings of Israel, yet the stereotyped formula, "he did evil in the sight of Yahweh," is toned down, and it is said that "he did not that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh" (ii Kgs. xvi. 2). This applies also to *Abijah* (i Kgs. xv. 3). Two other exceptions are *Manasseh* and his son *Amon*, who for the obvious reasons, which are given, are unmitigatedly evil; and finally, for a reason which we shall come to presently, the last four kings of Judah, *Jehoahaz* (but he only reigned for three months), *Jehoiakim*, *Jehoiachin*, and *Zedekiah*, are all spoken of as evil, pure and simple.

There is a further point to be considered regarding the rest of the Judæan kings. They are all (apart from the exceptions just mentioned) said to have done what is right in the sight of Yahweh, but there is a significant qualifying remark which is added; and that is to this effect: "Howbeit the high places were not taken away, the people still sacrificed and burned incense in the high places";¹ it is significant that in regard to every single king of *Judah*, mention is made, either explicitly or by implication, of the high places (*bamoth*); even in the case of Hezekiah and Josiah, who both did what was right in the sight of Yahweh, it is thought necessary to emphasize this by adding that they did away with the high places.

With regard to the kings of Israel, on the other hand, the evil of which they are all guilty centres primarily in the fact that they favoured the high places; of Jeroboam i, who appears as the evil genius of practically all his successors, it is said that he made from among all the people priests of the high places (i Kgs. xiii. 33); his son Nadab walked in the way of his father; after that it is said of each of the kings (Shallum and Hoshea alone excepted) that "he walked in the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat," or "he walked

¹ i Kgs. xv. 11 f.; xxii. 43; ii Kgs. viii. 18, 27; xii. 2, 3; xiv. 3, 4; xv. 3, 4, 34 f.

in the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat." This is likewise a stereotyped phrase, and implies worship on the high places.

There can be no doubt that the formulas and stereotyped phrases referred to are to be assigned to a Deuteronomic redactor; this is particularly evident in the cases of the mention of the high places, for, apart from passages which are demonstrably of Deuteronomic inspiration, there is never a word of condemnation of the high places; neither Elijah, nor Elisha, nor any other prophet of this age has a word to say against them (on the contrary, see *e.g.* i Kgs. iii. 4, xviii. 23); but in the Deuteronomic legislation it is very different, one illustration, of many, may be cited: ". . . Ye shall surely destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree . . ." (Deut. xii. 1 ff.). The destruction of the high places and the centralization of worship in Jerusalem were among the outstanding features of the Deuteronomic legislation. The introductory and concluding formulas spoken of above are also the work of the Deuteronomic redactor, though the chronological and other details which they contain were doubtless derived from material to which he had access.

But these series of passages by no means exhaust the Deuteronomic elements in *Kings*. The style of the book of *Deuteronomy* is very characteristic and easily distinguishable; and its religious point of view is always recognizable; so that when in the book of *Kings* both the literary style and the religious ideas of *Deuteronomy* appear there can be no doubt about the origin of passages in which they occur. Many illustrations could be given, it must suffice to indicate the most striking: i Kgs. ii. 1-4; viii. 22-66 (omitting 41-51); xi. 9-13, 29-38; xii. 26-31; xiv. 1-24; xv. 1-15; ii Kgs. xvii. 21-23; xxii; xxiii. 1-15, 21-28.

IV. OTHER REDACTIONAL ELEMENTS

There are a certain number of passages which are not in the Deuteronomic style, nor do they contain indications of

belonging to any of the sources mentioned; as a rule, the reasons for regarding these as later additions are fairly obvious; one illustration may be given: in ii Kgs. xiv. 5, 6 an extract from the Judæan source records how Amaziah put to death all those who had been concerned in the murder of his father Joash (see ii Kgs. xii. 20, 21), nevertheless, that the children of the murderers were spared; but to this there is added: "according to all that is written in the book of the law of Moses, as Yahweh commanded, saying, The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children be put to death for the fathers; but every man shall die for his own sin;" this latter is a *verbatim* quotation from Deut. xxiv. 16; but it is not added by the Deuteronomic redactor because he never does *quote* from *Deuteronomy*; he impresses his point of view in his well-known style, but does not give quotations; a quotation of this kind is the mark of later usage. Various other illustrations could be given (see, *e.g.*, ii Kgs. xiii. 23). Other redactional elements are: i Kgs. iv. 20-v. 6; viii. 41-51; ix. 1-9; xx. 35-43; ii Kgs. i. 9-16; xvii. 7-20, 29-40; xxi. 7-15; xxiii. 16-20, 26, 27.

V. THE SEPTUAGINT

Although the Septuagint is in many places very corrupt it is quite indispensable for the study of *Kings*. Again and again corrupt passages in the Hebrew text can be corrected by referring to the Septuagint; and what is of special interest is that it is quite evident that in many cases the Hebrew text underlying the Septuagint was a purer one than that represented by the Massoretic text. This is not to say that the Massoretic text is not often demonstrably superior to that of the Septuagint; that is quite obviously the case in many instances; but, none the less, the Septuagint cannot be dispensed with.

In a very large number of cases, the cumulative effect of which is imposing, there are small variations in the Septuagint which indicate a manifestly better type of Hebrew text

than that which we now possess; one or two illustrations may be given:

In i Kgs. xi. 3 the Hebrew has: "And he (Solomon) had seven hundred wives . . .; and his wives turned away his heart;" the last sentence is omitted by the Septuagint; it is not wanted, as it occurs in the next verse. In i Kgs. ii. 19 it is said in the Hebrew, in reference to Solomon: "and he set a throne for the king's mother;" for an Oriental king to do a thing like this is extremely improbable; the Septuagint reads: "and there was set a throne . . .," implying that this was done by the king's servants. In ii Kgs. vi. 11 the Hebrew has a clumsy and improbable form in the sentence: "will ye not tell me which of us is for the king of Israel?" In place of this the Septuagint reads: "will ye not tell me who (it is that) is slandering (*i.e.* betraying) us to the king of Israel?" In ii Kgs. x. 15 the Hebrew has: ". . . And Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, give me thy hand." In place of "If it be," which is meaningless, the Septuagint reads: "And Jehu said, Give . . ." These are just a few of a large number of instances in which the Septuagint witnesses to a Hebrew text superior to the Massoretic; individually they may not, as a rule, be important, but their number is significant. Apart from these, however, there are many passages in the Septuagint which do not occur in the Massoretic text at all. Several of these interpolations are not of much value, but others are important; so, *e.g.*, the longest of them, which comes after i Kgs. xii. 24; here there are recorded the events connected with the death of Solomon together with a summary of the reign of Rehoboam; then there is an account of the revolt of Jeroboam, with a repetition of what has already been told in chs. xi, xii, and anticipating ch. xiv; but, as Swete says, "the passage is no mere *cento* of verses to be found elsewhere either in the Septuagint or in the Massoretic text; it is a second and distinct recension of the story, resting equally with the first on a Hebrew original. So different, and indeed in some respects contradictory, are the accounts that they cannot possibly have stood from the first in the same volume. . . .

The present Greek version of *i Kings* has preserved two ancient accounts of the dismemberment of the kingdom of David and Solomon, and though one of these survives also in the Massoretic text, there is no *à priori* ground for deciding which of the two is the more trustworthy.”¹

Valuable from another point of view is a notice preserved in Lucian's recension of the Septuagint in ii Kgs. xiii. 22: “And Hazael took the Philistine out of his land from the Western Sea unto Aphek.” This, as Wellhausen has pointed out, shows where the true position of Aphek was, on the northern border of the Philistines, and throws light on the Philistine and Syrian invasion of central Palestine, for which Aphek served as a base. Samaria was thus not attacked from the north by the Syrians, but from the west, *i.e.* it would have been a flank, not a frontal, attack; from the Philistine land there was, by way of Megiddo, a good road into the heart of Israel's land.²

From these two illustrations, of many, it will be realized how indispensable the Septuagint is for the study of *i ii Kings*.³

¹ *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 248 (1900).

² *Composition des Hexateuchs*, p. 254; Lucian's recension was published by Lagarde (Göttingen, 1883).

³ For valuable help see Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 1. Heft: “Studien zu den Königsbüchern” (1904); 3. Heft: “Lucians Recension der Königsbücher” (1911).

I II CHRONICLES

I. TITLE AND PLACE IN THE CANON

THE Hebrew title, *Dibre hayyamim*, means literally "the things of the days," *i.e.* the events of the times. The Septuagint title *Paraleipomena*, "things omitted," *i.e.* from the other historical books, would seem to be due to a misunderstanding (see below). It is followed by the Vulgate: *Paralipomenon*, *primus et secundus*. But Jerome (*Prologus Galeatus*) suggested the Latin title, *Chronicon totius historię divinę*; and it is from this that the title in the English Bible is derived.

In the Hebrew Canon *Chronicles* belongs to the *Kethubim*, or "Writings" (*Hagiographa*), and it comes last of all the Old Testament books. Originally *Chronicles* and *Ezra-Nehemiah* formed a single work (see below, § II); that the historically earlier portion (i ii Chron.) should be placed after the later is probably to be accounted for by the fact that *Ezra-Nehemiah* first found a place in the Canon without i ii Chron., the history of which was covered by i ii Kgs. (in the main); afterwards, however, it was thought well to include i ii Chron.—though only as an appendix—for it presented the history from a point of view which appealed to the later dominant school of thought. However this may be, there cannot be any doubt that the admission into the Canon of *Chronicles* was later than that of *Ezra-Nehemiah*; had that not been the case the former would certainly have been placed before the latter in the order of the Old Testament books. That the English Bible places *Chronicles* after *Kings* and before *Ezra-Nehemiah*, differing therein from the Hebrew Canon, is due to the Vulgate.

II. CHRONICLES AND EZRA-NEHEMIAH

That these books originally formed a single work is generally recognized: the reasons for this conclusion are as follows:

(1) The end of ii Chron., *i.e.* xxxvi. 22, 23, which records the opening sentences of the decree of Cyrus, is repeated at the beginning of the book of *Ezra* (cp. also iii Ezra ii. 1 ff.); but in the former the sentence is incomplete, while in *Ezra* the whole of the decree is recorded; ii Chron. has therefore, properly speaking, no ending, as the words with which its present form ends are really the beginning of the book of *Ezra* (*i.e.* ii Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23 = Ezra i. 1-3a), the narrative runs on from one to the other. This does not, it is true, necessarily mean that the two books form part of one whole; but the fact that in *Ezra* the history is taken up from the point reached in ii Chron. does give the impression that the two belong together. The repetition is probably to be accounted for in this way: originally it was, of course, not there; the whole was a continuous narrative; but the part of the narrative comprised in *Ezra-Nehemiah* was, as has been pointed out, admitted into the Canon, while this was not the case with that contained in i ii Chron.; this latter was thus left without a conclusion. Later, when i ii Chron. was also admitted into the Canon, though not in its original position before *Ezra-Nehemiah*, it became necessary to add what was deemed a fitting conclusion, and what are now the last two verses of ii Chron. offered this in so far as they made the book end on a note of triumph. That Ezra i. 1 ff., and not ii Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23, has the original text is evident, because the latter has only the opening sentences of the decree of Cyrus, whereas the former gives this in its entirety.

(2) A second reason is the identity of religious standpoint, which is peculiarly characteristic, found in *Chronicles* and *Ezra-Nehemiah*. The Temple with its worship, and all that pertains to the priesthood, are matters of central interest in both.

(3) The love of genealogies and statistical records occurring throughout also points to the work of a single compiler, apart from later redactional elements.

(4) And most convincing of all is the similarity of language and style which runs through the whole series of what now appear as four books. Details of this would be out of place here; but reference may be made to Driver's *Introduction*, pp. 572 ff. (1913).

III. CONTENTS

The work is divided into the following four main divisions:

(1) i Chron. i-ix: the earliest history presented in the form of genealogies which start from Adam. Noteworthy is the special care given to the genealogies of Judah (ii. 3-iv. 23) and Levi vi. 1-81 (Hebr. v. 27-vi. 66).

(2) i Chron. x-xxix: the history of David. The importance attached to the Temple, and especially to the Levites, priests, singers, and minor officials, is seen by the long sections devoted to these (xxii. 1-xxvi. 32).

(3) ii Chron. i-ix: the reign of Solomon. Here, again, the Temple occupies the central place of interest ii. 1-vii. 10 (Hebr. i. 18-vii. 10).

(4) ii Chron. x-xxxvi. 21: the history of the kingdom of Judah. The history of the northern kingdom is almost wholly ignored. The last two verses of xxxvi belong, as we have seen, to the book of *Ezra*.

IV. DATE

It will be shown, when we deal with *Ezra-Nehemiah*, that there is convincing evidence in support of the contention that Ezra began his work in Palestine in 397 B.C. How long his work continued there are no means of knowing; but even if it was not of long duration, the compilation of the book that now bears his name, together with that of Nehemiah, cannot well have been made before the middle of the fourth century at the earliest. Since then, as we have

seen, *Chronicles* and *Ezra-Nehemiah* formed originally one work, the earliest possible date for *Chronicles* is about 350 B.C.

Further, in Neh. xii. 22 the High-priest Jaddua is mentioned; according to Josephus (*Antiq.* xi. 322, 347) he lived at the time of Alexander the Great (died 323); his death is recorded as having taken place soon after that of Alexander. In the same passage in Neh. the designation "Darius the Persian" occurs; this also points to the Greek period. The same applies to the title "King of Persia" (Cyrus) in ii Chron. xxxvi. 23; for the titles given to Persian rulers in earlier days were: "the King" (Hag. i. 1, 15), or "the Great King," as on the Cyrus Cylinder and elsewhere; also "King of Kings," "King of the lands," on a Darius inscription.¹

In i Chron. there are also one or two indications of date. The genealogy of David, given in iii. 19-24, is brought down to the sixth generation² after Zerubbabel; his date is about 520, so that even if only twenty years to a generation are assumed, the book cannot have been written until after 400. Further, in xxix. 7 mention is made of a *daric*, a Persian coin named after Darius I (died 486); its circulation in Palestine points to a time considerably after it was first issued; this, therefore, suggests a date well on in the Persian period (538-332).

Taking these various indications into consideration, we may with considerable confidence assign the date of the book to the second half of the fourth century, but possibly even later.

V. SOURCES

The chief source utilized by the Chronicler is quite obviously part of the Old Testament itself: the *Pentateuch*, *Joshua*, i ii *Samuel*, and, above all, i ii *Kings*. He refers to "the books of the kings of Israel and Judah" (ii Chron. xxvii. 7; xxxv. 27; xxxvi. 8), and doubtless the same work, though with a slightly different title, is referred to in i Chron.

¹ Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia*, p. 103 (1929).

² The Septuagint makes it the eleventh generation.

ix. 1; ii Chron. xvi. 11; xx. 34; xxv. 26; xxviii. 26; xxxii. 32; xxxiii. 18. In comparing the many passages in *Chronicles* with the corresponding ones in these books it is evident that they were substantially, though not absolutely, in the form in which they now appear. The question as to whether the Chronicler had before him, in addition, any of the earlier sources utilized by the compilers of the historical books, and what use he made of them, is of considerable interest. One passage certainly points to this having been the case; in ii Chron. xvi. 11 it is said: "Behold, the acts of Asa, the former and the latter, behold they are written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel"; the passage then goes on to summarize these (verses 12-14); when this is compared with the corresponding passage in i Kgs. xv. 23, 24 (which speaks only of the book of the Chronicles of the "kings of Judah"), it is seen that ii Chron. gives some details not recorded in i Kgs. This looks, therefore, as though the Chronicler had before him the source utilized by the compiler of *Kings*, and that he made a larger extract from it than that found in *Kings*. Thus, the possibility suggests itself further that in some cases the Chronicler may have made use of sources independently of what he took from *Kings*. One such source may have been "the Midrash to the book of kings," mentioned in ii Chron. xxiv. 27. A *Midrash* is a comparatively late form of exegetical commentary which seeks out and investigates—this is the root-meaning of the word—the sense of Scripture from various standpoints, and goes beneath the surface of the literal sense in order to discover what cryptic meaning a passage may contain. The Midrashic method will, by inference or deduction, often discern in a word or passage of Scripture a meaning for which the text itself gives no justification. The *Midrash* referred to by the Chronicler was, as its name implies, a source distinct from that just mentioned. Another *Midrash*, of smaller extent as its title implies, is named in ii Chron. xiii. 22, "the Midrash of the prophet Iddo"; whether this was an independent source, or whether it was merely a section of the large *Midrash* just spoken of, cannot be said with certainty; it may have at one time circulated

independently, and have been later incorporated in the larger work.

In the next place, there occur a number of titles of what appear to have been collections of narratives about prophets, viz. "the words (or 'acts') of Samuel the seer," "the words of Nathan the prophet," "the words of Gad the seer"; these occur together in i Chron. xxix. 29, and were doubtless all parts of the same book; further, "the words of Nathan the prophet," "the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," "the visions of Iddo the seer"; these occur together in ii Chron. ix. 29; and "the words of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer" (ii Chron. xii. 15). These, again, may originally have been independent writings; but that by the time they were used by the Chronicler they had been incorporated in the large history of the Kings is suggested by the fact that in two other cases it is definitely stated by the Chronicler that they had been so incorporated, viz. "... they are written in 'the words of Jehu the son of Hanani,' which is inserted in the book of the kings of Israel" (ii Chron. xx. 34); and "... they are written in 'the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz,' in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel" (ii Chron. xxxii. 32). It would, therefore, seem likely that all these writings belonged to what was one and the same source; to this must also be reckoned "the words of Manasseh," mentioned in ii Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19.

A further source, which at first sight appears unpromising, but which has a value of its own, is to be discerned in the large body of genealogies; they occur especially in i Chron. i-ix. These genealogies must have been gathered from official documents; they are not all of equal authority (*e.g.* the omission of i Chron. i. 11-23 in the best Septuagint text suggests that these verses are a later addition), but as a whole they are of importance as illustrating certain theories of Israelite and Judahite descent,¹ held in different circles and possibly at different times.

Finally, from ii Chron. xxvi. 22 (cp. xxxii. 32 already

¹ For details see Rothstein-Hänel, and Richter in *ZATW* 1931, pp. 260-270; and in 1932, pp. 130-141.

referred to) it is clear that the Chronicler made use of the book of *Isaiah*. The conclusion is that the sources from which the Chronicler compiled his work were: the canonical books already mentioned; the *Midrash* on Kings; the *Midrash* on the prophet Iddo; and the book of *Isaiah*.

VI. COMPILATION

Closely connected with the subject of sources is that of their compilation. There is much in *Chronicles* which supports the contention that the compilation of the material gathered from these sources was not the work of a single compiler, and that the whole compendium cannot be assigned to one and the same period. Both suppositions are in the nature of things. The purpose for which *Chronicles* was compiled (see § VII) was one of profound interest to certain religious circles of more than one generation; so that it is to be expected that the book should have been enlarged from time to time by those whose special interests it embodied. It is not as though the literary material utilized was all gathered ready for use like a collection of manuscripts in a modern library; doubtless there were state archives in which national records were kept, *e.g.* in the Temple; but it can hardly be supposed that among the documents there preserved were to be reckoned such very unofficial writings as the book of *Kings* or the great *Midrash* on this; these are more likely to have been in the care of guilds or schools of scribes in different localities (cp. Kiriath-sepher, "the book-city," Josh. xv. 15; Judg. i. 11). So that both from the nature of things, as well as from indications in the book itself, it may be taken for granted that the compilation of *Chronicles* extended over a period of a number of years, and that more than one compiler took a hand in it. When, however, the task is attempted of seeking to discern the hands of different compilers, it is, naturally enough, seen to be both difficult and precarious. The most important contributions to this intricate study are

those of Kittel¹ and Rothstein-Hänel,² the latter followed by Rad.³ Kittel's searching scrutiny discerns four hands of compilers, not necessarily individuals, but more probably groups; the work was first undertaken by a Levite or group of Levites, who were followed by another similar group; the former gathered together those portions of *Chronicles* which are identical, or almost identical, with passages from Old Testament books; the latter were responsible for those passages which were in part identical with those in other books. Then came the Midrashic scribe, or scribes, and added the Midrashic portions; and finally there was the Chronicler himself. In addition to these some later scribe inserted certain portions, which occur especially in i Chron. i-ix, not taken from the canonical books; some of this material Kittel believes to be, in substance, pre-exilic. The possibility of the correctness of Kittel's careful scrutiny is not denied, but whether it holds good all through is at least questionable.

The other scholars also discern several hands at work; but according to them, there were two main compilers; the earlier of the two follows, as a rule, but not wholly, the Priestly Code, while the later is guided rather by the Deuteronomistic Code. The correctness of this view hardly admits of doubt in view of the convincing evidence presented. It is of great interest, since it shows that even in pronounced priestly circles there existed in the fourth century a sympathetic feeling for the prophetic (*i.e.* Deuteronomistic) point of view.

VII. RELIGIOUS STANDPOINT

Two outstanding subjects call for brief mention in this connexion. The Chronicler's interest is centred in the Temple and its worship (the same applies whether there were one or more compilers). The conception of these is presented from a strictly Levitical point of view, and in a

¹ *Die Bücher der Chronik*, in Nowack's "Handkommentar zum A.T." (1902).

² *Das erste Buch der Chronik* (1927).

³ *Das Geschichtsbild des Chronistischen Werkes* (1930).

form which can have arisen only under the influence of the Priestly Code. This priestly legislation is assumed to be of Mosaic origin, and it is the norm by which all things are governed. The liturgical service of the sanctuary is the centre of religious life; in comparison with this all other interests sink into insignificance. An ecclesiastical system rather than religion in the deeper sense is the ideal inculcated. By this is not meant that the Chronicler was lacking in religious instinct; but to one for whom the religious sense is believed to be best expressed by the rigid observance of ritual worship, ceremonial and the laws governing it necessarily assume an exaggerated importance.

Illustrations of the Chronicler's ecclesiastical bent are abundant; they are most clearly to be discerned in comparing the way in which he presents occurrences of the past with the accounts given in the earlier books; of many examples that could be offered one of the most striking is the narrative of the reign of David in i Chron. x-xxix when compared with the corresponding passages in ii Sam. and i Kgs.

The other subject under this head is the Chronicler's doctrine of divine retribution. He not only represents the traditional belief here in a very pronounced manner, but he goes somewhat beyond it by insisting that divine reward for well-doing, and punishment for wrong-doing, follows immediately upon the act. In applying this theory to the doings of men in the past he often distorts history. Yet it is only fair to recognize the motive which impels this proceeding, mistaken though it be; the Chronicler's conviction of God's direct and immediate intervention in all human affairs is thoroughly sincere, and he wishes to impress this on his readers; he is not so much concerned with the illustrations whereby he drives home this truth, as he believes it to be, as with emphasizing the truth itself; he is a Midrashist, and claims the right to manipulate history in the interests of his teaching.

VIII. HISTORICAL VALUE

From what has been said it will be clear that not much importance can be attached to the history as presented in *Chronicles*. It does not even pretend to be a history of Israel, for it deals practically with that of Judah only, setting this forth especially as an account of the Davidic dynasty. The many almost absurd exaggerations (see, e.g., i Chron. xxii. 14 and i Kgs. x. 14, 15; ii Chron. xiii. 3, 17, xiv. 8, 9, xvii. 14-19), though sometimes these may be due to textual corruption, illustrate the unreliability of the compiler; and, above all, the tendentious cause of so much that is recorded forbids one to take the history seriously. Nevertheless, here and there some scraps may be gathered which are probably reliable *data*, but which have been overlooked in the earlier historical books (e.g. ii Chron. xxvi. 6-15, xxviii. 17, 18, and others).

Thus, while it is possible to form but a low estimate of both the religious and historical value of our book, we whole-heartedly endorse Buchanan Gray's words, that "as a document that preserves the spirit, and the moral, religious and ecclesiastical ideals of the Jews about 300-200 B.C., *Chronicles* is invaluable, and most so because then its meaning is most clearly expressed, when we can watch the author modifying those earlier sources which we still possess."¹

IX. THE VERSIONS

The Septuagint is the only Version, as is so often the case, which comes into consideration, though, in a few instances the Vulgate seems to have retained a right reading against the Septuagint (e.g. i Chron. xxvi. 26). So far as *i ii Chronicles* are concerned the value of the Septuagint lies in the large number of small details in which it has preserved the right reading against the Massoretic text. In the genealogies the form of the names differs frequently, and although the Septuagint form is quite obviously often wrong, there are

¹ *A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 92 (1927).

instances in which the Massoretic reading is to be corrected by that of the Septuagint. In quite a number of cases the correction of the Hebrew by the Septuagint gives the text one might expect; these are often small points in themselves, but they make just the difference to the understanding of the text (*e.g.* ii Chron. ii, 50; iii. 21; v. 13; xxv. 8; xxvi. 5; xxviii. 22; xxx. 22, and many others). Sometimes the smaller numbers given in the Septuagint suggest that the larger ones in the Hebrew are not in their original form (*e.g.* i Chron. v. 21; ii Chron. xxii. 2). The reliability of the Septuagint is in some cases attested by its agreement, against the Hebrew text of *Chronicles*, with the corresponding passage in Sam. or Kgs. (*e.g.* ii Chron. xxxiii. 20). In one instance the best Septuagint text omits a comparatively long passage in the Hebrew (i Chron. i 11-23); but this is exceptional. There are many cases of corruption in the Hebrew text for which the Septuagint offers no help (*e.g.* ii Chron. vi. 39-66), thus indicating that the corruption was already present in the text used by the Greek translators. Upon the whole, while the use of the Septuagint is necessary, it is of less importance for *Chronicles* than for most of the Old Testament books.

EZRA-NEHEMIAH

It has already been pointed out ¹ that *i ii Chronicles* formed originally with the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* a single work; both on this account, and also because *Ezra-Nehemiah* is regarded as one book in the Jewish Canon as well as in the Septuagint,² we shall treat it as such here; it will, moreover, be seen that a good deal of the book of *Nehemiah* is concerned with the person of Ezra, so that the two books, as they are represented in the Revised Version,³ should not be separated.

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AS PRESENTED IN EZRA-NEHEMIAH

Although as will be seen later, the history as given in *Ezra-Nehemiah* is at fault in some vital particulars, it is necessary to detail this as it stands in order that one may realize clearly in what respects the history has been erroneously presented.

The book opens with a brief account of the decree of Cyrus permitting the return (in 538 B.C.) of the exiled Jews to Jerusalem for the purpose of rebuilding the Temple (i. 1-4). It is then implied, though not actually stated, that the Jewish leaders, with Sheshbazzar (the governor, v. 14) at their head, had returned to their own land, but far more stress is laid upon the fact that the holy vessels belonging to the Temple, which Nebuchadrezzar had carried away in 586, were given back by Cyrus (i. 5-11). The whole of ch. ii is taken up with a list of the returned exiles, 42,360 in number. The feast of Tabernacles is then celebrated, an altar having been set up under the direction of Jeshua

¹ See pp. 110 ff.

² Under the title *ii Esdras*; this must not be confused with the book often referred to as the "Greek Ezra," called in the Septuagint *i Esdras* or *Esdras A*, which consists of our book of *Ezra*, *ii Chron.* xxxv, xxxvi and most of *Neh.* viii (in the Vulgate it is called *iii Esdras*). It will be noticed that our book of *Ezra* occurs twice in the Septuagint.

³ This is due to the Vulgate, where *i Esdras* = *Ezra*, and *ii Esdras* = *Nehemiah*.

and Zerubbabel (there is no mention of Sheshbazzar); the full quota of sacrifices is offered. The foundation of the Temple, however, is not yet laid, though this is said (i. 2-4) to have been the prime purpose of the Return (iii. 1-7). It is not until the next year that this is done, Jeshua and Zerubbabel being again the moving spirits (iii. 8-13). The "adversaries" (doubtless the Samaritans are meant) ask that they should be permitted to help in the building of the Temple, but this is refused, whereupon they hamper the work during the whole of Cyrus' reign until the second year of Darius, in 520 (iv. 1-5, 24). In the meantime, so it is recorded, the adversaries wrote an accusation against the Jews to Xerxes on his coming to the throne (485); they also sent a letter to Artaxerxes (464 was the year in which he came to the throne; presumably the first king of this name is meant), warning him of the danger involved in building the walls of Jerusalem—no previous reference to this has been made; as a result, the builders of the wall are forced to desist from their work (iv. 6-23).

With ch. v Haggai and Zechariah appear upon the scene; they persuade the people to begin building the Temple; but this is viewed with suspicion by Tattenai, "the governor beyond the river" (*i.e.* the Persian satrap of Syria), who addresses a letter to Darius asking for directions; the Jews, in the meantime, also address themselves to the king, referring him to Cyrus's decree permitting the building. Darius thereupon makes inquiries, and the decree is found; so he gives permission for the building to be continued. It is completed and dedicated in 516, and a great Passover feast is celebrated (v, vi). The narrative continues: "Now after these things," and then goes on to tell how Ezra went up from Babylon to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes; if the first king of this name is meant the date will be 458, so that we have a gap in the history of fifty-eight years during which nothing is recorded (vii. 1-9). Ezra's object in coming to Jerusalem is to teach the law to Israel (vii. 10; cp. verses 25, 26). The letter which the king wrote to Ezra and his companions permitting them to return is then quoted (vii. 11-26); a blessing on the

Lord, purported to have been uttered by Ezra, is appended (vii. 27, 28). There follows a list of those who accompanied him (viii. 1-14). Before starting on his journey Ezra proclaims a fast, with humiliation and prayer (viii. 15-23). Much stress is laid on the weight of gold and silver, and the vessels which were an "offering for the house of our God" (viii. 24-30). On the arrival of the exiles in Jerusalem an immense burnt offering is sacrificed, consisting of twelve bullocks and an inordinate number of rams, lambs, and goats (viii. 31-36). A complaint is then brought before Ezra by the "princes" regarding intermarriages between the Jews and the women of the surrounding peoples; Ezra is overwhelmed with shame and sorrow, and offers a long prayer of confession (ix); the people are moved to penitence, and, on the matter being investigated, "they make an end with all the men that had married strange women" (x. 1-17); a list is then given of those who had contracted these marriages (x. 18-44). Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem is then dealt with; the reason for his journey being that the returned exiles were in evil plight, and "the wall of Jerusalem is also broken down, and the gates thereof burned with fire." The date of Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem is given as the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, the same king as the one previously mentioned; the date is, therefore, 444. The people are persuaded by Nehemiah to rebuild the wall; but the enterprise is looked upon with disfavour by Sanballat, the governor of Samaria (Neh. i. 10). A description is then given of the building of the wall (iii. 1-32). A further, and fuller, account of Sanballat's annoyance at the work of rebuilding the walls follows, and of his attempt, which does not succeed, to frustrate this work (iv, Hebr. iii. 33-38, iv). At this point there is an insertion giving a long account of the overbearing behaviour of the wealthier Jews towards their poorer neighbours; this is rectified by Nehemiah (v). The course of the narrative is then taken up again. In spite of repeated plots against Nehemiah, which are, however, unsuccessful, the building of the wall is continued, and the work is completed in fifty-two days (vi). Thereupon Nehemiah

appoints two officials over the city; he also takes measures for increasing the population of the city (vii. 1-5). A long genealogical list is here inserted giving the names of the sons of the exiles who had been deported by Nebuchadnezzar (vii. 6-73a). The narrative is taken up again at vii. 73b (cp. Ezr. iii. 1), and the great gathering of the people is described at which Ezra, who now appears again, reads from the book of the law. After this the feast of Tabernacles is celebrated (cp. Ezr. iii. 4), during each day of which the law is read (viii). This is followed by a fast and more reading of the law, also a long prayer containing an historical retrospect (ix). Then a covenant is made to abstain from marriage with foreign women, to observe the Sabbath, and to support the service of the house of God (x). In ch. xi. 1-2 mention is again made of the increase of the population of Jerusalem—at Nehemiah's instigation since this is from his memoirs (see below); a list is given of those that "willingly offered themselves to dwell in Jerusalem." This is followed by another list which gives the names of the priests and Levites who had come from exile with Zerubbabel (xii. 1-26). Then there is an account of the dedication of the wall (xii. 27-47), after which the law is again read (xiii. 1-3). At some time, which is not stated, Nehemiah had returned to the Persian court; but in the thirty-second year of Artaxerxes (*i.e.* 432) he returned to Jerusalem, when his first care was to rectify some irregularities in regard to the Temple which had occurred during his absence (xiii. 4-14). He also took measures to have the Sabbath properly observed (xiii. 15-22), and dealt with the question of mixed marriages (xiii. 23-31).

It has been already stated that this presentation of the history is at fault in some important respects; these must now be pointed out.

One of the first things which must strike one is the way in which the Persian kings are mentioned; first of all there is Cyrus, the year in question being 538 (Ezr. i. 1); then Darius, with the year 520 (iv. 5, 24); then Xerxes, the year being 485 (iv. 6), followed by Artaxerxes i, who came to the throne in 464 (iv. 7); we then get back to Darius, with

the date of the completion of the Temple, 516 (vi. 15); then to the seventh year of Artaxerxes, 458 (vii. 7), and finally to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, 444 (Neh. ii. 1). This indicates some confusion in chronological sequence.

Then, one cannot fail to notice that there is some inconsistency as to who really took the lead in urging the rebuilding of the Temple, the prime purpose of the Return (Ezr. i. 2); at one time this is said to have been Sheshbazzar (Ezr. v. 16); at another, Jeshua and Zerubbabel (Ezr. iii. 10); and at another, Haggai and Zechariah, who stimulated Jeshua and Zerubbabel (v. 1, 2).

But more serious are the self-contradictory statements made with regard to the date of the laying of the foundation of the Temple; according to Ezr. iii. 8, v. 16 this took place in the year after the Return, *i.e.* 537-6; but according to Ezr. v. 1, 2 the foundation was laid in 520. In Ezr. iv. 24 it is said that the building of the Temple ceased until the second year of Darius, but in v. 5 this is contradicted: "they did not make them cease till the matter should come to Darius," and soon after the building is continued (vi. 7, 14). There is also a manifest confusion between the building of the wall and the building of the Temple; for in iv. 6-23 reference is made to the building of the wall in the reign of Artaxerxes, and the narrative continues in v. 2 ff. about the building both of the Temple and the wall in the reign of Darius (v. 3).

One other point of considerable importance is that Ezra is represented as having arrived in Jerusalem in 458 (Ezr. vii. 6, 9, 10), and that he was followed fourteen years later by Nehemiah, in 444 (Neh. ii. 1); they are also represented as contemporaries (Neh. viii. 2, 9, xii. 26); this last point is, of course, not impossible so far as the dates are concerned. But evidence will be given below to show that Nehemiah came first to Jerusalem in 444, and that he was followed nearly half a century later by Ezra, in 397; they were, therefore, not contemporaries, reasons for which, apart from dates, will be given.

It will thus be seen that the history of a considerable

part of *Ezra-Nehemiah* is unreliable. This is to be accounted for: (a) by the fact that our book is a compilation, and the sources used have been unskilfully put together; (b) because the compiler's knowledge of the period of history dealt with was inadequate owing to the want of *data*; and (c) because the compiler had some preconceived ideas with which he coloured the history.

Our next task must be to indicate the sources utilized by the compiler.

II. THE SOURCES USED IN COMPILING EZRA-NEHEMIAH

A close examination of our book shows that the compiler utilized the following sources:—

(a) *Ezra Memoirs*. Ezr. vii. 27, 28, viii. 1-34, all written in the first person, are clearly extracts from some record which Ezra kept of his work; and they appear to be *verbatim* extracts. There are other passages in which Ezra is spoken of in the third person; these may well offer the gist of extracts from the same source, viz. Ezr. vii. 1-10, ix. 1-x, 44; Neh. vii. 73b-viii. 12, 13-18, ix, and, in the main, x. 1-x, 44; Neh. vii. 73b-viii. 12, 13-18, ix, and, in the main, x. 1-x, 44.

(b) *Nehemiah Memoirs*. These extracts are more numerous: Neh. i. 1-vii. 73a, xi. 1-2, xiii. 4-31; in addition, xii 27-47, xiii. 1-3 are no doubt based on the same source; but they have been somewhat worked over by the compiler.

(c) *Lists*. These are all of persons, and for the most part they must have been taken from official records. Uninteresting as they appear, when scrutinized they contain numerous points of importance.

(d) *The Aramaic Sections*. These are Ezr. iv. 7b-vi. 18, vii. 12-26; they are official documents, but include some narrative matter, e.g. v. 1-5; iv. 8-23 contains the correspondence with Artaxerxes concerning the building of the wall; v. 6-vi. 12 contains the correspondence with Darius, and a copy of his decree, in which Cyrus's decree is quoted, about the building of the Temple; and vii. 12-26 is a decree of Artaxerxes giving permission to Ezra and his company to go to Jerusalem. These documents do not cover the whole of the Aramaic sections; the remainder,

being written by the compiler, show that his knowledge of Aramaic was more than what would suffice to copy out documents; and this is what one would expect. This leads us to the subject of the compiler and the nature of his work; for there is a considerable quantity of our book, after the subject-matter of the sources has been deducted, which must be put down to the hand of the compiler.

III. THE COMPILER OF EZRA-NEHEMIAH

We have already seen that *Ezra-Nehemiah* formed originally the concluding portion of *i ii Chronicles*; this suggests at once that the compiler of our book was the same as the compiler of *i ii Chronicles*; and all the indications go to support this supposition. This is not the place to go into details, but a brief reference may be made to some of the outstanding characteristics of *i ii Chronicles*, the presence of all of which may be observed in *Ezra-Nehemiah*—the few references given could be greatly multiplied:—the doctrine of divine retribution (Ezr. ix. 7, 13; Neh. i. 8, ix. 26, 27); the constant stress laid on the Temple and its worship (Ezr. i. 2-4, iii. 7, vii. 27, viii. 35); the importance of the Levites (Ezr. i. 5, vi. 20; Neh. viii. 11, xii. 1, 8); and of observing the law of Moses (Ezr. iii. 2, x. 3; Neh. viii. 1, ix. 13); the fondness for lists (Ezr. ii. 2 ff., x. 18 ff.; Neh. vi. 6 ff.); and finally there is the style and phraseology which show many affinities. When these points are examined there can be no shadow of doubt that our book was compiled by the Chronicler. This gives also the approximate date of the compilation,¹ *i.e.* about 300.

The compiler wrote, therefore, more than a century after the period with which he was dealing, and he had not a great deal of material at his disposal for setting forth the history. During the intervening century, although we may not be able to follow the steps, we know from the sequel that new ideas had developed in a theocratic direction; moreover, the growth and development of the Law and the elaboration of the Temple worship had revolutionized the

¹ See pp. 110 ff.

whole point of view of early orthodox Judaism. It is hardly to be wondered at that the Chronicler should have interpreted the history which he wrote in the light of the developments of his own day. With his veneration for the Temple and its worship he naturally enough imputed to the home-coming exiles the rebuilding of the Temple as their prime desire; the fact that worship had for long been offered in a somewhat dilapidated Temple did not appeal to him; probably he did not realize that those who were left in the land during the Exile had perforce to be content to worship in the ruins of a Temple which they had not the means to renovate. It must also be remembered that by the time at which the Chronicler lived the rift between the Samaritans and the Jews had developed into permanent antagonism; this he assumed had already taken place in the early days of the Return, and he constructed his history accordingly. And finally, with his exalted ideas about the priesthood it is not surprising that the Chronicler should have assumed that Ezra the priest took the initiative in all reforming movements rather than Nehemiah the layman. With his rather vague knowledge of Persian history, with the exiguous material at his disposal, and with his not very discriminating use of this, he would easily have fallen into the error of supposing that Ezra preceded Nehemiah in returning to Palestine; this involved some difficulties and inconsistencies in his presentation of the history which he made some unsuccessful attempts to straighten out; but in any case they were, to him, minor matters in comparison with what he believed to be the true course of events.

But inasmuch as we have been so used to assume that Ezra preceded Nehemiah it will be well to present the evidence to show that Nehemiah came and worked in Palestine about half a century before Ezra.

IV. NEHEMIAH AND EZRA

The reasons which justify the statement that Nehemiah preceded Ezra are as follows: first, there is a general consideration which has been shortly, but clearly, stated by

McFadyen: "The situation which Ezra finds on his arrival appears to presuppose a settled and orderly life, which was hardly possible until the city was fortified and the walls built by Nehemiah; indeed, Ezra, in his prayer, mentions the erection of the walls as a special exhibition of the divine love (Ezr. ix. 9)." The more the details of the narrative are scrutinized the more convincing does this general consideration become.

Then, to come to particulars; twice in the Nehemiah memoirs mention is made of the need of increasing the population of Jerusalem (vii. 4; xi. 1, 2); this was an important matter, for it would not have been much use for Nehemiah to have built the city walls if there had been insufficient men to defend them in case of attack. But in Ezra's time there was clearly a large settled population in the city; in Ezr. x. 1 it says that there was a "very great congregation of men and women and children," and in x. 13 similarly: "the people are many." This can be readily understood if Nehemiah came a generation before Ezra; whereas if Ezra came first it would mean that the population was dwindling; but there are various facts which could be mentioned to show that this was not the case.

A subsidiary point, not conclusive, it is true, but worth a passing word, is the question of the mixed marriages. Nehemiah hoped that by inducing those of his own people who had married non-Jewish women to promise that their children should not marry outside the Jewish race, the evil of these mixed marriages would cease. This was not the case, however; for when Ezra came things were as bad as ever, so that he took the much more drastic step of making every man who had married a foreign wife put her away: that finally settled the matter. Now, if Ezra preceded Nehemiah this sequence would be inconsequent; worse, it would be against the well-known fact that Judaism became stricter, not more slack, in its exclusiveness as time went on. It was not a question of the priest and scribe taking naturally a stricter line than the layman, but rather the ever-increasing realization of the need of Jews cutting themselves off from the outside world—engendered and

fostered first through the Exile—if they were to be loyal to their principles, their beliefs, and their God.

While this is not without weight, there is the further overwhelming argument that while, from Nehemiah's memoirs, he is a contemporary of the High Priest Eliashib (Neh. iii. 1), Ezra, according to his memoirs, was a contemporary of the High Priest Jehohanan, the son of Eliashib (Ezr. x. 6); but more, in the Old Testament "son" is sometimes used in a loose way for "grandson" (see, *e.g.*, Gen. xxix. 5, xxxi. 28, 43; Ruth iv. 17); and that Jehohanan (the shortened form is Johanan = Jonathan, see Neh. xii. 22) was thus the *grandson* of Eliashib is seen from Neh. xii. 11; *i.e.* Jehohanan is the son of Jehoiada the son of Eliashib; thus, Nehemiah lived under the High-priesthood of Eliashib, Ezra under that of his grandson Jehohanan. And this is corroborated by one of the Elephantiné papyri, which tells us that Jehohanan was High Priest in 408. We know from Neh. ii. 1 that Nehemiah came to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, and from Ezr. vii. 1, 7 that Ezra came to Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes; in neither case is it indicated which Artaxerxes is meant; but from what has been said there can be no doubt that in the case of Nehemiah it was Artaxerxes i who came to the throne in 464, so that his twentieth year was 444; in that of Ezra it was Artaxerxes ii, who came to the throne in 404, so that his seventh year was 397.¹

V. THE SEPTUAGINT VERSIONS

As indicated above, there are two Greek Versions of our book; one, called in the Septuagint ii Esdras (= *Ezra-Nehemiah*), does not offer anything of importance; but the other, *i* Esdras, known as the "Greek Ezra," demands some notice. This latter consists of the book of *Ezra* as we know it, ii Chron. xxxv, xxxvi, and Neh. vii. 73b–viii. 13a; in addition, it contains a long passage, iii. 1–v. 6, which has no parallel in the Hebrew, but which in its present form is

¹ See Van Hoonacker, *Néhémie et Esdras* . . . (1890); *Néhémie* . . . *Esdras* . . . (1892); and in the *Revue Biblique*, xxxii (1923), pp. 481–494; xxxiii (1924), pp. 33–64.

“certainly unhistorical.”¹ On the other hand, the obvious misplacement of Ezr. iv. 7-24 does not occur in the “Greek Ezra,” where the passage in question comes in ii. 15-25. There are some other important variations from the Hebrew, *e.g.* the omission of the name “Nehemiah” in Neh. viii. 9 (= ix. 49); and there is much to be said for Howorth’s view that it is an independent translation of an earlier Hebrew text.² In any case, this version is an indispensable aid to the study of our book.

¹ Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

² In the *Academy* for 1893, and see Thackeray’s important art. in Hastings’ *D.B.*, i. pp. 759 ff.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER

I. THE NARRATIVE

THE scene in which the plot of this little historical novel is laid is Shushan (Susa),¹ the period represented is that of Xerxes i (485-465 B.C.). During a great feast given by Xerxes, the royal command went forth that the queen Vashti should appear before the king in order that he might show "the peoples and the princes her beauty, for she was fair to look on." But Vashti refused to come; whereupon the king was filled with wrath, and took counsel among his wise men, saying: "What shall we do unto the queen Vashti according to law, because she hath not done the bidding of the king . . .?" On the advice of Memucan, one of the seven princes of Persia and Media, "which saw the king's face," it was decreed that Vashti should no more enter into the royal presence (i. 1-22). After four years the king determined to take to himself another queen; and the royal ministers sought out the fairest maid that could be found (ii. 1-4).

Now there was a certain Jew living in Shushan named Mordecai, of the house of Saul; he had brought up a young kinswoman whose name was "Hadassah, that is Esther," who was very beautiful. This maiden, in company with many another, was brought to the palace; and in due time her turn came to appear in the royal presence; but when the king saw her he loved her above all the maidens, and set the royal crown upon her head, and made her queen in place of Vashti. But Mordecai "sat in the king's gate" (ii. 5-20).

¹ About 200 miles east of Babylon. Xenophon, *Cyropædia* VIII. vi. 22, says: "But Cyrus himself always lived at the centre of his dominions, seven months in Babylon during the winter season, where the land is warm and sunny, three months at Susa in the spring, and during the height of summer at Ecbatana, so that for him it was spring-time all the year." The precedent set by Cyrus was apparently followed by his successors.

Now it fell on a day, as Mordecai sat in the king's gate, that he learned of an attempt to be made on the king's life; this he reported to Esther, who informed the king. Thereupon the conspirators were taken, and hanged. The matter was written in the book of the chronicles in the king's presence (ii. 21-23).

Another character is now brought upon the scene in the person of Haman, an Agagite, *i.e.* an Amalekite (i Sam. xv. 20). For some reason, which is not indicated, the king promoted Haman "above all the princes that were with him"; and by the royal command he was honoured by "all the king's servants that were in the king's gate." All, therefore, bowed down before Haman; but there was one exception; Mordecai, as a faithful Jew, refused. This greatly angered Haman, and, to avenge himself, he determined to destroy all the Jews in the kingdom; so, "in the first month, which is the month Nisan, in the twelfth year of king Ahasuerus, they cast Pur, that is, the lot, before Haman from day to day, and from month to month, to the twelfth month, which is the month Adar"; thus, when the propitious day came Haman approached the king, and made his accusation against the Jews, *i.e.* that they had laws of their own different from all others, and that they did not observe the king's laws. His request that all the Jews should be destroyed was granted, and a decree was put forth accordingly (iii. 1-15). When this came to Mordecai's ears he grieved very deeply; Esther heard of his grief, and sought to know the cause; then Mordecai sent messengers, beseeching her to intercede for her people before the king (iv. 1-17). So Esther invited the king and Haman to a banquet; and at the banquet the king bade Esther make her request; but in reply she begged the king to come to another banquet on the morrow, accompanied by Haman. And Haman boasted to his wife, Zeresh, of the honour done him by the queen, and of his wealth and high estate; "yet," said he, "all this availeth me nothing, so long as I see Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate"; for it rankled in the heart of Haman that Mordecai refused to bow down before him. But his

wife counselled him to have a gallows made, fifty cubits high, on which to hang Mordecai. Haman thought well of this advice, and acted accordingly (v. 1-14).

Now it happened in that same night that sleep fled from the king; so he caused the book of the records of the kingdom to be read to him, and when it was brought to his memory how that Mordecai had denounced the two conspirators and saved the king's life, he asked what reward Mordecai had received; and when it was told the king that nothing had been done for him, the king called for Haman and commanded him to honour Mordecai in royal fashion (vi. 1-14).

On the next day, during Esther's second banquet, the king again invited her to make her request; then she prayed the king that she and all her people against whom Haman was plotting might be spared. The king, understanding the cause of Haman's design, was filled with wrath, and commanded him to be hanged on the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai; and Haman was hanged forthwith; then was the king's wrath pacified (vii. 1-10).

Thereupon Mordecai was greatly honoured and rewarded; and, at Esther's request, the king's decree against the Jews was reversed, and permission was given to them to punish their enemies; then "the Jews smote all their enemies with the stroke of the sword, and with slaughter and destruction, and did what they would unto them that hated them." At Esther's further request the ten sons of Haman were hanged, and another massacre of the enemies of the Jews took place in Shushan; moreover, the Jews that were in the king's provinces "slew of them that hated them seventy and five thousand." This was done "on the thirteenth day of the month Adar (approximately March); and on the fourteenth day of the same they rested and made it a day of feasting and gladness"; and it is added: "Therefore do the Jews of the villages, that dwell in the unwall'd towns, make the fourteenth day of the month Adar a day of gladness and feasting, and a good day, and of sending portions one to another" (viii. 1-ix. 19).

Here it would seem—and this is the opinion of some

scholars—the book ended originally; but in what follows (ix. 20–32) it is added that the Jews were commanded to keep the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar yearly, *i.e.* the fourteenth day in the villages and the fifteenth in Shushan; these were days “whereon they had rest from their enemies.” This, it is said, the Jews undertook to do, because Haman “had devised against the Jews to destroy them, and had cast Pur, that is the lot, to consume them. . . . Wherefore they called these days Purim, after the Pur.” In the last chapter of the book, consisting of only three verses (x. 1–3), the attempt is made to give it the appearance of historical authority; in phraseology imitated from that of *i ii Kings* it is said: “And all the acts of his power . . . and the full account of the greatness of Mordecai, whereunto the king advanced him, are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia?” That this is not to be taken seriously becomes apparent as soon as the unhistorical character of the book is realized.¹

II. THE ORIGIN OF THE BOOK

That there was originally a non-Jewish element in the story of Esther is shown by the use of the word *Pur* which is translated into Hebrew by *Goral*, “lot” (iii. 7), and the word itself is Hebraized by adding the plural termination *-im* to it; this became henceforth the name of a Jewish feast which has been celebrated annually ever since—*Purim*. Much turns, therefore, on the word *Pur*; and Zimmern seemed to have pointed to the home and original meaning of the story in contending that *Pur* was equivalent to the Babylonian word *Puhru*, “assembly (of the gods),” which, according to Babylonian mythology, was held at the beginning of each year in the month *Nisan* (approximately April), and at which lots were cast for the coming year.² To this, however, Gunkel³ raises formidable objec-

¹ For a good presentation of the subject, see Paton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther*, pp. 64–76 (1908).

² *ZATW* xi, pp. 157–160 (1891).

³ *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, p. 310 (1895); see also Hochfeld *ZATW* xxii, pp. 282 ff. (1902), who shows that etymologically *Puhru* and *Pur* are not connected.

tions; *Puhru* means, truly enough, "assembly"—it also means "feast"—but, as we have just seen, according to Esther iii. 7 *Pur* means "lot." In addition, the Babylonian New Year festival was observed at the beginning of *Nisan*, whereas the Jewish feast of *Purim* was held on the 14th and 15th days of *Adar* (ix. 18), *i.e.* in the preceding month. What *Pur* really means has not yet been established. More promising, therefore, is Jensen's theory as to the origin of the book: he has shown that the name *Haman* is equivalent to *Humba* or *Humban* (= *Humman*), the chief of the Elamite gods, and that *Vashti*, or *Washti*, is the name of an Elamite goddess. *Zeresh*, Haman's wife, he equates with the goddess *Kirisha*; *Mordecai* with *Marduk*; and *Esther* with *Ishtar*.¹ Esther's other name, *Hadassah*, *i.e.* "the myrtle" ("wreathed") is probably derived, according to Jensen, from the Babylonian *hadashitu*, "bride." He, therefore, holds that a Babylonian myth lies behind the Esther story, and that the myth itself is the echo of an historical episode, namely, the liberation of Babylonia from the yoke of the Elamites which happened about 2300 B.C.² The myth will have come through a Persian medium, inasmuch as there are a number of Persian traits in the story as we now have it.³

Jastrow agrees with Jensen, and holds that the Babylonian myth was "transformed in such a manner by the Jewish author of the book of *Esther* as to make it the basis of an elaborate festal legend to justify the adoption of a 'foreign' festival into the Jewish calendar," adding that "the one link missing in the chain of evidence connecting *Purim* with the period of merry-making in honour of Marduk and Ishtar is evidence of a celebration in Babylonia or Persia in the middle of *Adar*—just before the New Year's season proper two weeks later."⁴

¹ It is also interesting to note that the relationship between Mordecai and Esther (cousins, according to ii. 7) is the same as that between Marduk and Ishtar, according to one Babylonian tradition (Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 313).

² *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* vi. 47 ff., 209 ff.

³ See especially Siegfried, *Ezra, Nehemia und Esther*, pp. 137 ff. (1901).

⁴ In Hastings' *Dict. of Rel. and Ethics*, x. 505 b, 506 a. The Babylonian New Year festival was called the *Sacæa*, the Roman equivalent of which was the *Saturnalia*.

Thus, the book of *Esther* affords an illustration of external influence on the Jews, inasmuch as they adapted a heathen festival to their own use.¹ In some measure we have a parallel to this in the festival of *Hanukkah* (see i Macc. iv. 52-59), which, as Rankin has shown, contains traces of elements from the Dionysian and Apollo cults, which were taken over by the Jews and Judaized.²

III. DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGIN

That our book must be later than the time of Ben-Sira (*circa* 200 B.C.) is evident from the fact that in the Hymn in Praise of the Fathers (Ecclus. xlv.-xlix.) no reference is made to it; some mention of Esther and Mordecai would assuredly have found a place there had the book been extant in his day. It is in ii Macc. xv. 36 (37) that the book is first mentioned (i.e. *circa* 50 B.C., possibly a little earlier); it is there said: "And they all ordained with a common decree in no wise to let this day pass undistinguished, but to mark with honour the thirteenth day of the twelfth month (it is called Adar in the Syrian tongue), the day before the day of Mordecai" (*Πρὸ μιᾶς ἡμέρας τῆς Μαρδοχαϊκῆς ἡμέρας*). The reference here is to the day on which the Jews gained a striking victory over the Syrian general Nicanor (161 B.C.), so that the "day of Mordecai" was the 14th of Adar. In the parallel passage in the older book *i Maccabees* (*circa* 100 B.C.) it is said that "Nicanor's day" was to be celebrated annually on the 13th Adar (vii. 49), but there is no mention of "Mordecai's day." Thus the feast of *Purim* had obtained an assured position in the calendar before the middle of the first century B.C., and the book of *Esther* must be dated about a century earlier.

It is important to note that there is evidence of the existence of a Greek version before the end of the second century B.C., as Swete points out: "The footnote to the Greek

¹ See the interesting article by Krappe, "Solomon and Ashmondai," in *The American Journal of Philology*, liv. 3, pp. 269 ff. (1933).

² *The Origins of the Festival of Hanukkah*, passim (1930).

Esther, which states that that book was brought to Egypt in the fourth year of 'Ptolemy and Cleopatra' . . . may have been written with the purpose of giving Palestinian sanction to the Greek version of that book; but it vouches for the fact that the version was in circulation before the end of the second century B.C."¹ The Ptolemy mentioned must be the eighth of the name, "Lathyrus" (116-108/7 B.C.); he reigned with his mother Cleopatra.² On internal evidence we may suggest that the book assumed its present form in the earlier stages of the Maccabæan revolt. Gunkel believes that it goes back to the early Greek period, and that it originated in the eastern Dispersion like the book of *Tobit*;³ he may be right as far as the earliest form of the story is concerned, but as we now have it the book breathes a spirit of ruthless vindictiveness which reflects the age of Antiochus Epiphanes better than any other in known Jewish history.

IV. CANONICITY

Owing doubtless to its very secular character there were strong protests against *Esther* being included in the Canon; it was only after prolonged controversy that this was ultimately acquiesced in. It took its place, probably, because it gave an explanation of and formed the literary basis for the popular feast of *Purim*.⁴ Even so, its position was not finally secured until about 120 A.D.

V. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

Of the Hebrew text little need be said; it has come down to us in as pure a form as any book of the Old Testament; so that for the study of *Esther* the Septuagint is of

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 25; see also Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, iii. p. 450 (1909).

² She drove him out of Egypt in 108-7 B.C., but he returned in 88 B.C. and reigned for another eight years.

³ In *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (RGG.), s.v. "Esther."

⁴ Jewish tradition identified Ahasuerus with Artaxerxes I, and so the book could be regarded as belonging to the "prophetic period," see above, p. 3. See further, Buhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff., Ryle, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 ff.

but small importance. From some other points of view, however, the Septuagint offers matter of considerable interest: first, there is the fact that there are two recensions of the Greek text; most of the manuscripts contain the ordinary Septuagint text, but a certain number have the Lucianic recension of this; it is shorter than the Septuagint text itself, and conforms more to the Hebrew text. Secondly, both forms of the Greek text have considerable additions: "Of 270 verses, 107 are wanting in the present Hebrew text, and probably at no time formed a part of the Hebrew book. The Greek additions are distributed through the book in contexts as long as average chapters."¹ These additions are six in number;² with one exception they cannot be said to be of much importance; the third (xiii. 8-xiv. 19 in the Apocrypha, "Additions to the Book of Esther") is, however, of interest; it consists of prayers offered by Mordecai, Israel, and Esther, for deliverance from the danger overhanging them. These prayers breathe a deep spirit of devotion and loyalty to God. The object of the additions was to supply a religious note which is otherwise entirely lacking in the book.

¹ Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

² Apart from the note at the conclusion of the book, see above, p. 136.

THE FORMS OF HEBREW POETRY

IN all the history of man's speech we do not know of any language better adapted than Hebrew to noble poetry. This is due, in part, to the very great strength of the accent, which, falling normally on the last syllable of a word (though occasionally on the last but one), seems to gather into itself the whole weight of sound and meaning carried by the word. The result is that even Hebrew prose has a very strongly marked rhythm, of the iambic or anapæstic type (though one accent may be preceded by more syllables than would be possible in a normal anapæstic rhythm), and, even in our faint efforts to reproduce it, we can see that it must have been of extraordinary beauty to the ear.

We may well ask what there can be to distinguish between prose and poetry in such a language. The answer must be that, while the rhythms of prose may be absolutely free, those of poetry must be, if not entirely uniform, at least regular within well-defined limits. But, though this has always been admitted, it is only within the last two centuries that any serious attempt has been made to define those limits or to ascertain the nature of Hebrew poetic form, while it is barely half a century since the taking of the first steps which led ultimately to the present position. We shall best realize how young is the study of Hebrew metres if we remember that one of its earliest pioneers, Professor Karl Budde, is still¹ living and at work.

I. PARALLELISM

The only step taken before Budde's day was, however, of profound importance. It was the recognition by Lowth² of the principle of *Parallelism*. A line of Hebrew poetry

¹ 1933.

² Cp. *De sacra poesi Hebræorum Prælectiones Academicæ* (1753).

must always have at least two parts, which in some way balance one another. It is usual to give the name *stichos* to each of these parts; in its simplest form we shall have a line in which every word in the first *stichos* will correspond to a word in the second *stichos*, and *vice versa*. Thus in Isa. i. 3 we have:

Israel doth-not know (*Yisra'el lô yadû*),

My-people doth-not consider (*'ammî lô hithbondn*).

Lowth distinguished three kinds of parallelism:

- (a) Synonymous, where both parts mean the same thing, *e.g.* the illustration just cited.
- (b) Antithetic, where the two *stichoi* present a contrast, *e.g.* Prov. i. 29.
- (c) Synthetic, where the sense simply flows on. This, as later students have recognized, is hardly true parallelism in thought.

Since Lowth's day three other types have been distinguished:

- (d) Emblematic, where one *stichos* makes a statement literally, and the other suggests a metaphor, *e.g.* Ps. xlii. 1.
- (e) Stairlike, where a part only of the first *stichos* is repeated, and the sense is continued from it, *e.g.* Ps. xxix. 1-2a.
- (f) Introverted, where four *stichoi* are so arranged that the first corresponds to the fourth and the second to the third, *e.g.* Ps. xxx. 8-10.¹

The first real advance on Lowth, however, was made by G. B. Gray, in his *Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (1915). Gray pointed out that in some cases the two *stichoi* of a line were exactly parallel, in others they were not. The former type may be called *Complete Parallelism*, and represented by such a formula as:

a. b. c.
a'. b'. c'.

An example may be seen in Isa. i. 3, already cited.

¹ For these last three, see especially Briggs, *Psalms* (ICC), pp. xxxvi-xxxviii (1907).

The other type may be called *Incomplete Parallelism*, and it is to be noted that this again falls into two classes. Sometimes a part of the second *stichos* is parallel to the first, while, in the remainder, a term is inserted which has no analogue in the first *stichos*. Thus:

Yahweh from-Sinai came,
And-shone-out from-Seir unto-them (Deut. xxxiii. 2),

i.e.: a. b. c.
 b. c. d.

or: Give unto-Yahweh, ye-sons-of God,
Give unto-Yahweh glory and-strength (Ps. xxix. 1),

i.e.: a. b. c. d.
 a. b. e. f.

A very wide variety of forms is possible, making not a little of the beauty of Hebrew poetry. This Gray called *Incomplete Parallelism with Compensation*. But there is another kind, in which a part only of the first *stichos* is repeated in the second, and there is nothing to correspond to the remainder. *E.g.*:

And-shall-become straight, the-crooked,
And-the-rough-places plain (Isa. xl. 4b),

i.e.: a. b. c.
 b'. c'.

We may also have a whole line parallel to that which precedes, while the correspondence between the *stichoi* of each is less obvious, *e.g.*:

Yahweh is-my-light and-my-salvation,
Whom shall-I-fear?
Yahweh is-the-strength of-my-life,
Of-whom shall-I-be-afraid (Ps. xxvii. 1).

This we may call *External Parallelism* as opposed to the *Internal Parallelism* of the examples we have previously considered, in which the various *stichoi* of the same line balance one another. Now, although it is impossible, in many cases, to detect a strict parallelism (cp. all instances of

Lowth's "synthetic parallelism"), yet the existence of the phenomenon and its frequency lead us to one of the fundamental principles of Hebrew poetic form. A metre is usually, in most of the languages we know, a balance of *sound*—a *phonetic* rhythm. This is true of Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Arabic,¹ Syriac, and most modern types of poetry. But in Hebrew, and in one or two other ancient literatures, *e.g.* Akkadian, Egyptian and Chinese, the essential basis of poetic form is a balance of *thought*—a *logical* rhythm. It is profoundly important to bear this in mind, for any scheme or theory of Hebrew metres which neglects this principle, or fails to give it due place, will stand self-condemned.

It is, therefore, clear that the metrical units and the metrical divisions must correspond to the pauses in thought, greater or less. Where two words are intimately connected, as in the Hebrew "construct relation," a strong metrical division, or "cæsure," is impossible between them, and they may tend to fall under the same accent-unit. Light is often thrown on the emphasis to be placed in Hebrew on certain words (*e.g.* negatives and small words like "all") by the way in which they are combined to form metrical lines.

II. COMBINATION OF WORD-ACCENTS AND STICHOI TO FORM LINES

The nature of the Hebrew language, which, as we have already remarked, sums up each independent idea in a strongly accented word—often complex—makes it inevitable that the "logical rhythm" should also become a "phonetic rhythm." If a line of poetry contains three significant thought elements, balanced by three more, it is obvious that there will be three significant words in each part. And each significant word, however many syllables it and its subsidiary words (*e.g.* prepositions) contain, is dominated so fully by a single stressed syllable that the rest are usually negligible from the metrical point of view.

¹ An exception may be found in the Arabic "Saj," or "rhymed prose" (cp., Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.).

Hence we can describe a Hebrew line of poetry by the number of significant words or accents it contains in each *stichos*. Thus the illustrations above quoted from Isa. xl and Ps. xxvii would be "scanned" as 3 : 2.¹

It should be added that there seem to be occasions when a word carries so great a weight of meaning and of sound that it may take the place of *two* logical terms. This will occur especially where a plural word has a pronominal suffix and is preceded by a preposition.² Even so, the doubly-stressed word is rare, and never occurs in a two-stress *stichos*.

It may be remarked that several attempts have been made, e.g. by Grimme³ and Burney,⁴ still further to analyse the sound-group attached to an individual stress, but none has generally commended itself. Probably no adequate rule ever will be formulated, for such analysis must depend primarily on the phonetic element; and we may doubt whether the Hebrew poet, at least in Biblical times, was ever as fully conscious of the sound of his lines as he was of their meaning.

The simplest logical proposition must consist of two terms, a subject and a predicate. Consequently we should expect to find that the primary unit in Hebrew poetry is a two-stress *stichos*. We may cite the analogy of Babylonian poetry, in which the commonest line consists of two parallel two-stress *stichoi*, though a third stress is sometimes found in one *stichos* or the other, never in both. In Hebrew, however, poems in "2 : 2" throughout are very rare. Usually, in some of the lines of a poem, a third stress appears, most commonly in the first *stichos* and occasionally in the

¹ The general view here outlined was first suggested by Rabbi Azariah (sixteenth century); cp. Burney, *The poetry of our Lord*, pp. 59-62 (1925). It was noticed by Lowth, but not generally accepted till it was independently worked out by Ley; cp. esp. *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaus in der Hebräischen Poesie* (1875), and *Leitfaden der Hebräischen Metrik* (1887).

² It may not be superfluous to remark that in Hebrew all possessive pronouns are attached as suffixes to the nouns they qualify, forming an inflexion rather than a combination of words. In the same way, some prepositions are prefixed to the word they govern and others are so slight that, though they are written as separate words, they never take a word-accent unless reinforced by a conjunction.

³ Cp. *Psalmenprobleme*, esp. pp. 3-20 (1902).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, cp. esp. pp. 43-58.

second. Thus we have a "pentameter"—3 : 2 or (rarely) 2 : 3. As a matter of fact, the 3 : 2 is far commoner than the 2 : 2, though there are comparatively few poems which are 3 : 2 throughout. It was this metre which was first recognized by Budde in Lam. i-iv, whence he gave it the name of *Qinah*, or "dirge" metre. It is, however, used for a great variety of poems, especially in some of the prophets.¹ A very well-known example is Ps. xxiii:

The-Lord is-my-shepherd, I-shall-not-want,	3 }
He-maketh-me-to-lie-down in-green-pastures.	2 }
He-leadeth-me beside-the-still waters,	3 }
He-restoreth my-soul	2 }
Yea-though I-walk	2 }
Through-the-valley-of the-shadow-of-death,	2 }
I-will-fear-no evil	2 }
For-thou-art with-me.	2 }
Thy-rod and-thy-staff	2 }
They comfort-me.	2 }
Thou-preparest a-table before-me	3 }
In-the-presence-of my-enemies.	2 }
Thou-anointest my-head with-oil,	3 }
My-cup runneth-over.	2 }
Surely-goodness and-mercy shall-follow-me	3 }
All-the-days-of my-life;	2 }
And-I-will-dwell in-the-house-of the-Lord	3 }
For ever (lit. for-length-of days).	2 }

The original 2 : 2 also developed by what we may call a "triplication." An extra stress was sometimes added to each *stichos*, producing 3 : 3. This is the commonest metre in Hebrew poetry, and it is used in the majority of the *Psalms*, in the poetic portions of the book of *Job*, frequently in *Proverbs*, and in many prophetic oracles. Another method of triplication was to add a third *stichos*, producing 2 : 2 : 2. This form is rare outside the *Prophets*, where, however, it is not uncommon in combination with 3 : 3. The process was carried a step further at times, and produced a third

¹ It has been held, e.g. by Duhm, that Jeremiah wrote solely in this metre.

stichos, making 3 : 3 : 3—a “trimeter tristich.” It is even possible that we may have to allow for the existence of a threefold “tetrameter,” produced by three 2 : 2 lines.¹

Yet a third type is produced by adding a fourth stress to the three-stress *stichos*, thus producing 4 : 3 or (very occasionally) 3 : 4. This metre is by no means common, and, as a rule, the 4 is capable of further subdivision, giving a 2 : 2 : 3 form. In this case the second break in the line (“cæsura”) will be stronger than the first. A good instance of a little poem in this metre is the description of the chaos-vision in Jer. iv. 23–26. It also appears in the last verse of a number of 3 : 3 psalms, though here it may have a liturgical explanation. There may even be instances of 4 : 4 which cannot be resolved into 2 : 2, 2 : 2, but these always awaken suspicion. Every Hebrew poetic line is, properly, a combination of two- and three-stressed *stichoi*.

We have thus three main types of metre :

1. *Qinah*, 3 : 2, 2 : 3, or 2 : 2.
2. Hexameter, 3 : 3, 2 : 2 : 2, or 3 : 3 : 3.
3. Heptameter (comparatively rare), 4 : 3 (2 : 2 : 3).

III. MIXTURE OF METRES

The question now arises as to whether a poem may contain more than one metre. It may be said that there are a few poems which consist of exactly similar lines. In other cases the stricter student is tempted to emend the text, by the addition or subtraction of words, so as to produce complete regularity. But, as the work of Sievers² and Gray has shown, the alternation of 3 : 2 and 2 : 2 is so common as to make it practically certain that it was regularly admissible. Similarly, the appearance of 2 : 2 : 2 and 3 : 3 : 3 in poems

¹ It is obviously incorrect to speak (as Briggs, for instance, frequently does) of a trimeter “line,” since this gives no room for parallelism, and thus violates the fundamental principle of Hebrew poetic form.

² Esp. *Metrische Studien* (1901), a very thorough and elaborate study of the phonetics of Hebrew poetry, based on an encyclopædic knowledge of prosody in general. The chief weakness of Sievers’ work is his failure to give sufficient weight to the fundamental importance of parallelism, which often leads him to class as poetry literary material which is certainly prose.

otherwise 3 : 3 does not, in itself, constitute irregularity.¹ On the other hand, the much rarer appearance of a 3 : 3 in poems otherwise *Qinah*, or of 3 : 2 or 2 : 2 in a hexameter poem, is certainly suspicious, and some scholars would resort to conjectural emendation. In this connexion it is interesting to note how often a metrically regular text may be obtained by following the Septuagint. Thus, in the poetical portions of the book of *Jeremiah*, there are about 230 instances (out of over 250 separate pieces) in which a metrical irregularity is to be found. In 170 of these the text translated by the Septuagint was metrically regular—nearly 75 per cent. of the cases. The illustration is particularly significant, since the Egyptian, or Alexandrian, texts of this book were clearly affected less than most others by comparison with the Palestinian text.² Strong objections have been raised against conjectural emendations made purely in the interests of metrical theory, but there is no reason why we should not use it as a criterion in deciding between the two ancient forms of text. We may, then, having regard to the vicissitudes through which the Hebrew text has passed, well feel that, originally, the Hebrew poet confined himself to a single metre (admitting the alternatives already noted) for each separate poem.

Before leaving this side of metrical study, a remark should be made about *anacrusis*. It sometimes happens that a word appears at the beginning of a line which stands outside the metre. Such words are usually exclamations, single words drawing a strong contrast, or interrogatives. They affect, as it were, not the single line to which they are prefixed, but the whole of the following passage. The opening words of *Lamentations* are best explained thus :

How !³

Doth—the-city sit solitary	3 }
That—was—full-of people,	2 }

¹ It is, however, worth noting that when a 3 : 3 : 3 line appears in the MT of *Job*, one of the *stichoi* is nearly always to be suspected on other grounds than those of metre.

² See above, pp. 16, 20.

³ Though the word is sometimes interrogative, it is clearly an exclamation here.

Is-she-become a-widow	2 }
She-that-was-great among-nations :	2 }
Princess among-the-provinces	2 }
Is-she-become tributary !	2 }

Another illustration may be cited from Jer. xii. 1b-2 :

Wherefore !

Doth-the-way-of the-wicked prosper,	3 }
All-they-are-at-ease that-deal treacherously ;	3 }
Thou-hast-planted-them, yea, they-have-taken-root,	3 }
They-grow, yea-they-bring-forth fruit.	3 }
Thou-art near in-their-mouth	3 }
And-far from-their reins.	3 }

A recognition of this phenomenon often reveals a singular beauty and impressiveness in the passage in which it occurs.

IV. THE STROPHE OR STANZA

For over a century it has been recognized that the lines of a Hebrew poem may be so grouped as to form stanzas, or, as they are more often called, strophes. It is generally agreed that there are some poems which can be thus arranged, but it does not follow that all Hebrew poetry is necessarily strophic. This view has been held by many eminent scholars, but, in a large number of cases, the position is not easy to accept.

It is, of course, always possible to divide a poem of any length into paragraphs, by noting where the larger breaks in the sense occur, just as we can do with prose. But this division cannot be an element in poetic structure unless some regularity appears. Early investigators held that the strophes in a particular poem need not all contain the same number of lines (or verses), but they must be symmetrical. A strophe of two lines must be properly balanced by another strophe of two lines. They might be arranged for instance 2+3+4+4+3+2, or 2+3+4+2+3+4, or even 2+3+4+5+4+3+2, or in any other form which might be symmetrical. More recent scholars, however,

tend to assume that all the strophes of a poem must have the same number of lines. This has led, in some cases, to extensive alterations in the text, lines being freely omitted if they failed to fit the chosen scheme, and the amount of conjectural emendation thus demanded has thrown discredit on the whole theory. In particular, it is improbable that prophetic utterances were normally strophic. There are several apparent instances of the phenomenon, *e.g.* Am. i. 3-ii. 6 and Isa. ix. 7-x. 4, but there is always the possibility that the somewhat artificial form of these passages is due to a compiler rather than to the prophet, though the central message is the work of the latter.

In true strophic arrangement, each stanza must be a separate entity. Neither as between two lines nor as between two strophes can there be any *enjambement*. Strophic division implies logical division, and even in the *Psalter* it is by no means every poem which falls into a series of equal-lined sense-sections. Certain external signs, however, may be generally accepted:

(a) The presence of a refrain occurring at regular intervals, *e.g.* Ps. lxxxvii. In some cases this may have been displaced in the process of copying the text.

(b) Most alphabetic acrostics are strophic. These are poems in which each letter of the alphabet in turn begins a line or strophe, though even they (*e.g.* Lam. iii) are not necessarily strophic. Sometimes each letter occurs only once, at the beginning of a group of lines, as in Lam. i, ii, and iv. In other cases each line of the group begins with the same letter; Ps. cxix, the most completely artificial Hebrew poem we have, goes through the whole alphabet, beginning eight consecutive lines with each letter. Here we have a very elaborate strophe.

(c) The presence of the word *Selah* at the end of a line is often held to indicate the end of a strophe, but its meaning is too uncertain for us to be sure that it was used for this purpose.¹

In other cases the individual student must be left largely

¹ For a possible explanation of this term see p. 185.

to his own judgement. It may be repeated that there are two essential conditions for the recognition of strophic arrangement. The first is regularity in length—probably even uniformity; and the second is a clear division in thought at the end of each strophe. Only where these are fulfilled, are we safe in describing the structure of a given poem as strophic.¹

¹ For recent studies of the field of strophic structure cp. H. Möller, *Strophenbau der Psalmen* in *ZATW*, pp. 240–256 (1932); Condamin, *Poèmes de la Bible, avec une introduction sur la strophique hébraïque* (1933).

THE WISDOM LITERATURE

I. PRE-LITERARY WISDOM

LONG before the subject of Wisdom assumed a literary form among the Hebrews it was current in oral proverbial sayings; that is common to all peoples when a certain stage of culture has been reached. Short, pithy sayings become popular when they express something which the experience of life shows to be true; and, being employed when the appropriate occasions arise, their frequent utterance makes them generally familiar and therefore common property. Among a people like the Hebrews, in whom the religious instinct was strongly developed, such popular sayings often took a religious form. In the Old Testament, therefore, a number of sayings occur of both types, secular and religious, which were current long before the Wisdom literature came into being. A few examples are the following: "Therefore it became a proverb, 'Is Saul also among the Prophets?'" (i Sam. x. 12); "They shall surely ask (counsel) at Abel and Dan"¹ (ii Sam. xx. 18); "Out of the wicked cometh forth wickedness" (i Sam. xxiv. 13); "Let not him that girdeth on (his armour) boast himself as he that putteth it off" (i Kgs. xx. 11; in Hebrew this is expressed in four words); "They sow the wind and shall reap the whirlwind" (Hos. viii. 7); "Do they plough the sea with oxen?" (Am. vi. 12; emended text); in Ezek. xviii. 2 an ancient proverb is quoted: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." Sometimes the origin of a proverb is indicated, such as one just quoted, "Is Saul among the prophets?" and "Saul hath slain his thousands and David his ten thousand" (i Sam. xviii. 7), and there are many others. Many have been incorporated in the book of *Proverbs*; they are always simple in form, and, in early times, usually straightforward in regard to meaning.

¹ Emended text.

A developed form of Wisdom, though doubtless of an early type, occurs in such things as riddles (Judg. xiv. 14), or fables, for example that of Jotham (Judg. ix. 8-15, and cp. ii Kgs. xiv. 9).

The Hebrew term applied to these popular sayings is *mashal*, the root meaning of which is "to be like," i.e. the word contains the idea of comparison; but in the majority of cases these proverbs are not comparisons, nor do they express likeness with anything else; "the solution of this difficulty probably is that the use of the term *mashal* has gone through several stages. While its original form and connotation was a short popular saying which contained a comparison, the history of the term entered a second stage when it came to be employed of any short popular saying which contained a truth gained from general experience."¹ When, however, the term came to be used in literature it acquired an extended sense; the oracular utterances of Balaam are so called (Num. xxiii. 7, 18, etc.), also a prophecy of woe (Isa. xiv. 4-6), a lamentation (Mic. ii. 4), and an allegory (Ezek. xvii. 2, and elsewhere). But in the first instance it is applied to the simple popular sayings to which reference has been made.

These, then, constitute the earliest forms of Hebrew wisdom. By degrees the short sayings were collected, and the various collectors, it may well be believed, added to them by composing proverbs of their own; these were then written down, and thus their literary form began; when once this literary form had been reached, then the Wisdom writers, the *Hakamim*, "Wise men," developed the Wisdom literature.

II. THE HEBREW WISDOM BOOKS (UNCANONICAL)

In dealing with the Hebrew Wisdom literature it is demanded that the whole body of it, so far as it has come down to us, should be taken into consideration, and not merely those books which have been admitted into the Canon; for the distinction between canonical and un-

¹ Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, p. lxxv (1929).

canonical Wisdom books is quite arbitrary; they all treat of the same general subject, though one book may emphasize, or even concentrate exclusively upon, some special aspect of it more than others. The canonical Wisdom books will be individually dealt with below;¹ here the uncanonical ones must be briefly considered.

i. *The Wisdom of Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus)*. This book was written approximately between 200–182 B.C. in Hebrew; it was translated into Greek in 132 B.C., according to the Prologue to the Greek translation, which was made by the author's grandson. The writer bases a good deal of his work on the earlier Wisdom books, especially *Proverbs*, but he adds very materially to this and shows much independent thought. In a number of instances he develops some well-known proverbial saying into a miniature essay, thus exhibiting his individuality. The book contains a mass of information on the thought, life, and customs of the Jews in his day which greatly enhances its value. Like the writers of *Proverbs*, Ben-Sira addresses himself primarily to the younger generation, though his admonitions very frequently apply to old as well as young, and his intention clearly was to offer a kind of text-book for guidance of life to all. This he does with the object of setting before his people the superiority of Judaism over Hellenism. In a sense, *Ecclesiasticus* "may be regarded as an apologetic work, inasmuch as it aims at combating the rising influence of Greek thought and culture among the Jews. Hellenism had already begun to affect the Jewish people, in Palestine as well as in the Dispersion, and here and there in the book one can observe that the writer himself, in spite of his conservatism, was not wholly unaffected by it. . . . Such traces of Greek influence, however, as there are in the book are to be found in general conception rather than in definite form."² In *Ecclesiasticus* the religious note is more prominently and more frequently expressed than in *Proverbs*.

¹ They are *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Ecclesiastes*, and some of the *Psalms*, or portions of psalms. Regarding these latter Fichtner, with whom probably most commentators will agree, distinguishes between the earlier and the later Wisdom psalms; the earlier are xxxiv. 11–22 (12–23 in Hebr.), xxxii. 8–11, xxxvii. xlix, lxxiii, cxii, cxxviii, cxxxiii; the later, dating from about 300 B.C., are i. 7–14 (8–15), xciv. 8–23, cxi, cxii, cxix.

² Oesterley, *Ecclesiasticus*, p. xxiv f. (Cambridge Bible, 1912).

ii. *The Wisdom of Solomon*. There are two clearly marked parts in this book, chs. i-ix and x-xix, of which the latter is much inferior to the earlier both in thought and diction. Authorities differ both as to the unity of the book and its date. The most probable conclusion, however, is that the two parts are not from the same author, and that chs. i-ix belong approximately to the middle of the last pre-Christian century, and x-xix to the middle of the first century A.D., at the latest. Toy¹ has well summarized the difference in style between the two parts: the earlier is "relatively simple and direct, with constant regard to the Hebrew principle of parallelism, whilst in the second part it is ambitious, grandiloquent, or turgid, complicated and artificial, often without parallelism."

The book is a product of the Judaism of the Dispersion, and is full of the Hellenic spirit; this is seen in the treatment of the doctrines of the pre-existence of the soul, of immortality, of the body as evil, and of the creation of the world out of formless matter; the influence of Stoic philosophy appears in the ideas of the *Anima Mundi*, and of the metabolism of the elements, as well as in the classification of the four cardinal virtues for which the Stoics were indebted to Plato.

iii. *Pirke Aboth* ("The Sections of the Fathers"). This is better known as the "Sayings of the Fathers," and partakes largely of the character of Wisdom literature, being often reminiscent of the book of *Proverbs* and of the *Wisdom of Ben-Sira*. It is, in part, the oldest collection, in post-Biblical times, of sayings of Jewish Sages; those who are quoted lived within the period between about 200 B.C. to the third century A.D.

iv. In addition to the books mentioned, there is a Wisdom section belonging to the book of *Baruch* (iii. 9-iv. 4), probably written soon after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70; and the *Fourth Book of Maccabees* which was written with the object of illustrating and proving the power of "inspired reason" (εὐσεβὴς λογισμός); but its character is very different from that of the other Wisdom books.

¹ In the *Encycl. Bibl.*, iv. 5338.

The date is uncertain, but it may not improbably have been written about the middle of the first century A.D.

These books, then, together with the canonical books to be dealt with later, constitute the Hebrew Wisdom literature, so far as it has come down to us. Now, in order to realize the changes of thought and the doctrinal developments which are to be observed in this literature it is necessary to distinguish between its earlier and its later parts. Speaking generally, though probably there are some exceptions, the earlier literature is represented by the canonical Wisdom books and the earlier Wisdom psalms; the later, in the main, by those of the Apocrypha and the other Wisdom psalms.

When these two sets of books are carefully examined it will be seen that in a variety of ways there are notable differences between them. Thus, in the earlier literature the Sage is a *Wise man*, irrespective of nationality, while in the later books the Sage is an *Israelite*, and the writers glory in the fact that only among their own people are the true Wise men to be found. Similarly, in the older literature it is taught that Wisdom is to be obtained by all and sundry who seek her; it is never suggested that this is the exclusive privilege of the Israelite. Quite different is the attitude taken up by the writers of the later Wisdom books; here we find that no more is Wisdom a treasure, the possession of which is the reward of any man who faithfully seeks it, but that this is reserved for Israelites only; the national God vouchsafes it to His own people, not to the world in general. Furthermore, it is now taught that Wisdom is identical with the Law. One result of this was that inasmuch as the Law contained not only ethical precepts, but also directions concerning worship, stress came to be laid on the connexion between Wisdom and cult. Again, though here the difference is discernible in emphasis and tendency rather than in direct precept, in the older literature the Wise man does what is right because of the consequent reward, while in the later literature stress is laid more on the need of doing good because it is the will of God; and it comes to the same thing when obedience to

the Law is inculcated, for the Law is the expression of the Divine will. A further notable difference is that in the earlier literature Scripture is hardly ever appealed to, whereas the later Wisdom writers make constant reference to the Biblical books. Finally, what is perhaps the most important difference is the doctrine of divine retribution. In the older literature the conception of God centres primarily on the fact of His righteousness and justice, therefore He rewards the righteous man for his well-doing, but a just retribution for his evil deeds falls on the wicked; and this retribution always takes place on this side of the grave. This doctrine held sway in spite of its obvious contradiction offered by the facts of daily life. In the later literature, however, while there is the full recognition of the justice of God, great stress is laid on divine grace and mercy lavished upon Israel, the people of God; in illustration of this the later Wisdom writers frequently point to the past history of Israel to show how God's favours were accorded to His people; it was to them, and to none others, that God revealed Himself. Thus it is that in the later literature the doctrine of divine retribution is much modified in its severity, as compared with the earlier literature, through the exercise of divine mercy. A further important point in this connexion is that while, according to the earlier literature, retribution always takes place in this life, the later Wisdom writers, with the exception of Ben-Sira, teach that the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the righteous take place in the life to come.¹

It will thus be seen that in some important particulars the outlook and teaching of the writers of the earlier and later Wisdom literature respectively show a marked difference.

III. THE HEBREW CONCEPTION OF WISDOM

The Hebrew word for Wisdom, *Hokmah*, is never used in the sense of pure knowledge, nor, in its earlier usage has it ever a religious connotation. It is used of wisdom in

¹ For full references to the respective literatures in justification of what has been said, see Fichtner, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

the administration of affairs (Gen. xli. 33; Deut. i. 13; ii Sam. xiv. 20; Isa. xxix. 14, etc.); of skill in various kinds of work, making garments (Exod. xxviii. 3), fashioning idols (Isa. xl. 20), constructing furniture for the Tabernacle (Exod. xxxi. 6, 7), of spinning (Exod. xxxv. 25), and of mourning (Jer. ix. 17); it is used also of shrewdness (ii Sam. xiii. 3), of cunning (Job v. 13), and craftiness (ii Sam. xx. 16 ff.). Thus, it connotes in general the faculty of being able to distinguish between what is advantageous and what is detrimental; and this both in its earlier and later usage; but in the latter, side by side with this meaning, more stress is laid upon its religious content. Thus, Wisdom was at first purely utilitarian, and developed in course of time into a quality which was ethical and religious, while it still continued to be used in its original sense as well. Ultimately it came to be identical with the Law. It is in these senses that Wisdom is used in this literature.

But of the various conceptions of Wisdom found in the Wisdom books, that which is of far-reaching importance is its personification. As a general rule, Wisdom is spoken of as something abstract, but in some striking passages it is personified. According to Fairweather, it was conceived of as a "projection out of the Divine mind, as something more than an attribute, but as something less than a hypostasis."¹

The passages, however, in which Wisdom is personified suggest that it was conceived of as an intermediate being between God and the world; a personality existing alongside of God, but in quite a definite sense distinct from Him. Thus, in Prov. viii. 22-31 Wisdom is represented as saying: "Yahweh possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old.

I was set from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was.

When there were no depths I was brought forth . . .

When he established the heavens I was there, when he set a circle upon the face of the deep;

¹ Fairweather, *The Background of the Gospels*, p. 84 (1908).

When he made firm the skies above . . .
 Then was I by him, as a master workman;
 And I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him;
 Rejoicing in his habitable earth; and my delight was
 with the sons of men."

In the *Wisdom of Solomon* vii. 22 ff., the nature of Wisdom is thus portrayed:

"For there is in her a spirit¹ of understanding, holy, sole-born, manifold, subtil, mobile, lucid, unpolluted . . . All-powerful, all-surveying, and penetrating through all spirits. . . ." (Cp. also ix. 9 and *Ecclus.* xxiv).²

The special importance of this personification of Wisdom lies not only in the fact that it forms the link between the Palestinian and Hellenistic development of Judaism, but also that "it represents the contribution made by the Wisdom literature to the Christology of the Old Testament, and has greatly influenced Christian theology."³

IV. THE HAKAMIM AND THEIR WORK

There is evidence to show that the *Hakamim*, or "Wise Men," traced their origin back to the learned class of the Scribes, from whose ranks men were chosen to occupy important positions as State officials. In ii Sam. viii. 17, among David's high officers, is mentioned Seraiah the *Sopher* or "Scribe," a kind of secretary of State; in another list of these (ii Sam. xx. 25) a similar office is held by Sheva; see also i Kgs. iv. 3; ii Kgs. xix. 2; ii Kgs. xxii. 3-7; Jer. xxxvi. 20, 21. Indications of the existence of institutions for the training of these Scribes occur in Josh. xv. 15, where mention is made of Kiriath-sepher, "the city of the book," or, as the Septuagint reads, Kiriath-sopher, "the Scribe city"; in Josh. xv. 49 this city is called Kiriath-sannah, "the city of the palm-leaf," i.e. it preserved the name of the material, or one of the materials, on which the Scribes wrote.¹

¹ Another reading is: "For she is a spirit."

² In Job xxviii. 12-28 there is also a personification of Wisdom.

³ Fairweather, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁴ Fries, in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, xxii. 125.

The first time the *Hakamim* are mentioned is in Isa. xxix. 14, where the name occurs as a technical term and must, therefore, have been long in existence. In Jer. xviii. 18 the *Hakam* is spoken of as belonging to an order, like the priest and the prophet: ". . . the law shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the *Hakam*, nor the word from the prophet"; and in Jer. viii. 8, 9, Scribes and *Hakamim* are seen to be identical. This identity is more fully borne out by Ben-Sira, who speaks of himself as a *Hakam* and a *Sopher* (Ecclus. xxxviii. 24-xxxix. 1-11).¹

In pre-exilic times it is likely enough that the Wise men were looked upon with disfavour by both prophets and priests; the whole mental outlook and ideals of each of these latter were so utterly different from those of the former that they must have regarded the Wise men, with their lack of zeal for God (from the prophetic point of view, cp. Isa. ~~xxii. 15-19~~), and their coldness towards the cult (from the priestly point of view), with something approaching contempt. The Wise men, on the other hand, with what they would regard as their superior wisdom, may well have thought the prophets arbitrary and hard, the priests as narrow-minded and self-centred. In later days, however, all this changed; prophetism in the higher sense had ceased, and a friendly co-operation seems to have existed between priests and Wise men. Ezra was both priest and scribe; and later, in such a passage, e.g., as Ecclus. vii. 29-31, l. 1 ff., it is evident that the Wise men were in full sympathy with the priesthood.

For the rest, the writers of the Wisdom literature were, above all things, practical in their teaching; with their knowledge of human nature, their ability to give counsel of real help for every-day life, and of expressing this in clear and forceful language, they were an immense power for good in guiding men in the ways of religion and ethics, and in teaching them to lead sensible lives. In speaking of the way in which the Sages supplemented the work of the prophets, Ranston truly remarks: "It is customary,

¹ See further, Baumgartner, "Die israelitische Weisheitsliteratur," in *Theologische Rundschau*, 1933, pp. 269 f.

and with justification, to regard the prophets as the most illustrious exponents of the Hebrew religious spirit. But it may be doubted if the influence of these spiritual experts would have been so permanent and far-reaching apart from the work of the Wise men in popularizing their ideals and creating among the ordinary people a spirit sympathetic with them.”¹ At a time when Prophetism in the true sense of the word had almost died out it was the *Hakamim* who took the place of the prophets, and it is likely enough that their methods of teaching were more effective among ordinary mortals than their greater predecessors.

It is one of the striking things about the Wisdom writers that among the various classes of people to whom they addressed themselves, the greatest attention was accorded to different types of “fools.” The Hebrew language has a number of words to describe the varieties of this type of humanity. It is evident that, according to the Wisdom writers, these types constituted the majority of mankind; nevertheless, they realized the great potentialities for good in every type of “fool,” with one exception (see Prov. xvi. 22, xxvii. 22), and the very fact that there is so much guidance and instruction for “fools,” of the less virulent type, is sufficient evidence that the *Hakamim* were not pessimists in their estimation of their fellow-creatures.

Stress must, however, be laid on the fact that the *Hakamim* were earnestly concerned to show that foolishness is wickedness; every kind of Wisdom, from the lowest to the highest, is the gift of God; to permit folly, therefore, to assert its sway is to commit a wicked act, and this not only in the case of the wanton, aggressive “fools” who glory in wrongdoing, but also in that of the careless and thoughtless who flounder in the mire of their folly without realizing it: “The way of the wicked is like darkness, they know not wherein they stumble” (Prov. iv. 19).

But the *Hakamim* were far from contenting themselves with indicating to “fools” normal rules of conduct regarding every-day life, important as these are; they would not have been exponents of the teaching of the prophets

¹ *The Old Testament Wisdom Books and their Teaching*, p. 19 (1930).

had they not been zealous in inculcating more directly religious precepts. It is true, the earlier literature has exceedingly little to say about worship and sacrifices, and the subject of prayer is rarely mentioned, though in the later literature all these find frequent expression (*e.g.* Ecclus. xxxii. 6 f., xxxvi. 10–12, xlv. 15 ff., l. 1 ff.; Wisd. ix. 4, xviii. 9, 21, etc.); but the intimate connexion between ethics and religion is altogether characteristic of the Wisdom literature as a whole; the *Hakamim* of every age are insistent on Wisdom being, in its essence, the fear of Yahweh (*e.g.* Prov. xiv. 2, xv. 9, xvi. 6, iii. 7, xxviii. 5; Ecclus. xv. 1, xix. 20, Wisd. xiv. 24 ff.), on man's relationship to God, and on the need of trust in Him (*e.g.* Prov. xxii. 4, xviii. 10, xx. 22, xxx. 5, ix. 10; Ecclus. ii. 8, xiv. 12, 22 ff.; Wisd. vii. 15, ix. 17). While in the later literature the religious element is more pronounced, it would be an injustice to say that it does not receive attention in the earlier; since the Sages regarded every form of Wisdom as a divine gift, it is evident that the religious element lay at the base of all their teaching, whether expressed or not.

On the two very important subjects, the problem of suffering, and the doctrine of retribution, which figure prominently in this literature, we do not speak here, as they are dealt with elsewhere.¹

Speaking generally, then, it may be said that the main object of these exponents of *Hokmah*, "Wisdom," was to teach men how to live happy lives as long as they were on this earth. This leads them to deal with the relationship between a man and his God, between parents and children, man and wife, friend and foe, rich and poor, high and low; they teach what is right behaviour in every phase and occupation of life, how to accept adverse fortune, and the fitting attitude of him who enjoys wealth—in a word, how to live to the best advantage, to do right because it brings its own reward, to avoid wrongdoing because it entails disadvantages. Yet, stress must again be laid on the fact, sometimes insufficiently recognized in reading what appears to be predominantly of a secular character,

¹ See pp. 165, 175 ff.

that underlying this utilitarian view of life there is a religious foundation; that wisdom is the gift of God is often insisted upon (*e.g.* Prov. ii. 6; Ecclus. i. 1-10, and elsewhere), that good fortune as the result of right living, and misfortune as the result of wrongdoing, are not merely a process of cause and effect, but a matter of divine intervention in the affairs of men (*e.g.* Prov. x. 22); it is pointed out that true wisdom and piety are really the same thing (*e.g.* Ecclus. i. 14-20, 25-30), and that the origin and essence and highest form of wisdom is the fear of the Lord, so that it is incumbent on all men to observe the commandments of God (*e.g.* Prov. xxviii. 4, 7). The increasing stress laid on the religious element observable among the later Sages is further seen in that a more vital difference is recognized between piety and godlessness than between wisdom and folly;¹ and it is significant that Ben-Sira estimates a godly man of limited understanding more highly than one of greater wisdom who transgresses the Law (Ecclus. xix. 24).

V. THE COSMOPOLITAN CHARACTER OF WISDOM LITERATURE

The fact that Wisdom was not the exclusive possession of Israel is already fully recognized in the Old Testament. Thus, in order to show how great Solomon's wisdom was it is said that it "excelled the wisdom of the children of the east, and all the wisdom of Egypt" (i Kgs. iv. 30 [Hebr. v. 10]); by the "children of the east" are meant Arabians (*cp.* Bar. iii. 23) and Edomites, as the context shows, and doubtless also Babylonians. The "sons of Mahol" (*ver.* 31) were Edomites; their wisdom is referred to in Jer. xlix. 7 and in Obad. 8; and the wise men of Egypt are spoken of in Gen. xli. 8; *cp.* also Isa. xix. 11-15. Further, "in Job ii. 11 the names of Job's friends show that they were non-Israelite; Teman was in Edom, Shuah in Assyria, and though Naamah was in south-west Judah, it is most

¹ This is brought out by Baumgartner, *Israelitische und altorientalische Weisheit*, p. 5 (1933).

probable that Zophar was thought of as an Edomite because the clan which settled in Naamah, viz. the Calebites (see i Chron. iv. 15, where Naam is the same as Naamah), was of Edomite extraction."¹

The existence of this extra-Israelite wisdom to which the Old Testament witnesses has been abundantly verified in recent years by the discovery of a number of Egyptian and Babylonian Wisdom books.² The study of these Wisdom books and a comparison between them and those of the Hebrews shows that there existed from the Nile to the Tigris an extensive Wisdom literature essentially identical in its main characteristics, and that this literature was in the nature of common property among the peoples of the ancient East. It is interesting, too, to find that the Wisdom writers of both Egypt and Babylonia belonged to the class of Scribes and occupied important posts in the State just as we have seen was the case among the Israelites.

The translation of all these Egyptian and Babylonian Wisdom books has made it possible for non-experts in these languages to compare their contents with those of the Hebrews; and the comparison raises some questions of interest and importance to the Biblical student: (1) Were the Hebrew Sages indebted to those of other countries, and if so, in how far? (2) Was there any reciprocal indebtedness? (3) Does the Hebrew Wisdom literature differ from that of the other nations, and if so, in what respects? A brief attempt must be made to reply to these questions.

The familiarity of the Hebrews with the wisdom of other countries is evident from the passages referred to above; and the older and higher culture of Egypt and Babylon would naturally impress the Hebrew; moreover, the fact that the Wisdom literature of both Egypt and Babylon was demonstrably older than that of the Hebrews offers an *à priori* probability that the Hebrew Sages were indebted to extraneous sources for much of their Wisdom thought. It must also be recognized that there are certain character-

¹ Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, p. xxxiv (1929); see also Pfeiffer, "Edomite Wisdom," in the *ZATW* for 1926, pp. 13 ff.

² Some details will be found, e.g., in Baumgartner, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff.

istics in the earlier books of Hebrew Wisdom which are strikingly non-Israelite; these have already been mentioned, viz. the cosmopolitan outlook, the comparatively cold outward religious expression, and the reticence regarding things which receive much emphasis in other parts of the Old Testament—worship, sacrifices, the election of Israel, etc.; this also points to extraneous influence. But the evidence of this becomes overwhelming when a detailed comparison between the Hebrew Wisdom books and those of Egypt and Babylon is undertaken; this cannot be done here, but the large number of passages which contain identity of thought and word makes it impossible to deny borrowing,¹ and it must obviously be the later writers who borrowed from the earlier. Our first question must, therefore, be answered by an emphatic affirmative.

The answer to the second question as to whether there was reciprocal indebtedness is more difficult. Opinions on the subject differ, though the majority of experts are inclined to doubt Hebrew influence on the Egyptian and Babylonian Sages.

But in one respect the possibility, to put it at the lowest, of Hebrew influence on non-Israelite Wisdom writers must be recognized, and this even in regard to those writings which are demonstrably older than any Hebrew books, if one may assume later redactional additions—a not improbable hypothesis. We refer to religious and ethical elements, but especially the former.² It seems arbitrary to suppose that among men of similar bent, be their nationality what it may, influence should have been exercised on one side only; in the close intercourse which must at different periods have existed between Israelites, Egyptians, and Babylonians, it is highly probable that the Hebrew religious genius, which was professedly unique, impressed itself upon the more serious thinkers of other nationalities; and they in their turn would have communicated this to others like-minded with themselves. In this way the Hebrew religious

¹ See Oesterley, *Proverbs*, pp. xxxiv-lv. The most striking instance is Prov. xxii. 17-xxiii. 14, which seems to have been taken more or less bodily from the Egyptian Wisdom book *The Teaching of Amen-em-ope*.

² Cp., among others, Causse, *Sagesse égyptienne et sagesse juive*, p. 168 (1929).

spirit would have spread within certain circles both in Egypt and Babylonia, and have been reproduced in some of the Wisdom writings of these countries. So far as Wisdom itself is concerned, Israel was undoubtedly largely influenced by both these countries; but where it is a question of religion, Israelite influence is the more likely to have been predominant. What Blackman, in a different connexion, however, has said with great truth in reference to Egypt may well apply also to Babylonia: "Just as, on the one hand, specifically native Egyptian contributions to the world's cultural and religious progress penetrated into Palestine and were absorbed into the main stream of Hebrew religious development, so, on the other hand, certain results of the Semitic genius for religion in their turn penetrated into Egypt and contributed to the formulation of what was highest and best in Egyptian religion."¹

In answer to our last question it must be affirmed that the Hebrew Wisdom literature does differ in some important respects from that of both Egypt and Babylonia. Baumgartner maintains that by simply altering the language and the name of God of sayings from *Proverbs* and transplanting them into an Egyptian, Assyrian, or Aramaic collection, and *vice versa*, one would not know that any exchange had been made.² So far as the Egyptian Wisdom books are concerned this is an over-statement. There is much in these that is entirely un-Hebraic, and if put into Hebrew would at once betray non-Israelite elements.

The first point of difference in the Hebrew Wisdom literature is, naturally enough, its monotheism; Israel had but one God, and His name was Yahweh; in the other Wisdom literatures many gods and goddesses are mentioned, with a variety of names. Secondly, there can be no question about it that the ethical element constitutes one of the main differences between Israelite and other Wisdom books. This is not to say that moral precepts are wanting in the Egyptian and other non-Israelite books, the difference lies in emphasis, but that is a very marked difference, and

¹ In *The Psalmists*, p. xiii (1926). See further, Kittel, *Die hellenistische Mysterien-Religion und das Alte Testament*, passim (1924).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

cannot fail to strike the impartial reader of the respective literatures. A further not unimportant point here is the difference in motive in ethical behaviour; the Hebrew Sages are often insistent on good behaviour because, as the people of Yahweh, who is holy, they too must be holy in their walk in life; it is perfectly true that again and again in the Hebrew Wisdom writings the motive pointed to is not "Be good for good's sake," but for the advantage to be derived from doing what is right; yet it is none the less true that often the will of Yahweh is pointed to as that which must be the real motive for right living, and as the norm of true Wisdom; that is specifically Israelite, and there is nothing corresponding to it in other ancient Wisdom books. Once more, though this applies only to Egyptian Wisdom; retribution for evil living takes place on this earth only according to Hebrew Sages, while those of Egypt insist also on retribution in the world hereafter; it must strike one as remarkable that the Hebrew Sages with their belief in an omnipotent God were not influenced by Egyptian belief here. As to this, however, the *Book of Wisdom* offers a notable exception; though there is no reason to suppose that the writer of this book was indebted to Egypt for this. Lastly, and this, too, is matter for surprise, the Hebrew Wisdom writers of the earlier literature, as already pointed out, show little interest in matters of worship, differing herein from the Sages of Egypt and Babylonia.

Summing up, then, it must be noted that the Hebrew Sages were in many particulars strongly influenced by their *confrères* of other lands; nevertheless, they had a remarkable faculty of adapting extraneous material and moulding it in accordance with their own ideas; they show a distinct individuality, and when the different bodies of Wisdom literature are compared, it must be admitted that that of the Hebrews shows, all in all, a marked superiority over the others.

THE BOOK OF JOB

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

FEW Old Testament books have had so many different places assigned to them in the Canon as has the *Book of Job*. This is, possibly, due to different theories of authorship. The Hebrew Canon, representing the opinion of Jewish scholars to whom the book was anonymous, placed it third in the *Kethubim*, or Writings,¹ after *Psalms* and *Proverbs*. The Septuagint placed all the poetical books after the historical writings and before the *Prophets*. In the view of those responsible for the arrangement of the Greek versions, the book was anonymous, and they placed before it, not only *Psalms* and *Proverbs*, but the two shorter books also which were connected with Solomon, *Ecclesiastes* and the *Song of Songs*. The *Peshitta*, on the supposition that the book was the work of Moses, put it immediately after *Deuteronomy*, while the arrangement of the books in the Vulgate suggests a combination of this view with the order of the Septuagint, and counts it as the first of the poetical books, though in other respects its arrangement of this group is the same as that of the Septuagint. ~~Most~~ modern versions, including the English, follow the Vulgate.

II. CONTENTS

The book of *Job*, which is professedly a story rather than a piece of history,² is the record of the intellectual struggle and the spiritual agony of a man who had plumbed the depths of human suffering and had tried to harmonize his experience with his belief in an all-powerful, all-wise, and

¹ See p. 5.

² This is made obvious by the opening words in Hebrew, where a formula of introduction is employed which is never used in books which claim to be history, even in an historical romance such as *Ruth*.

all-loving God.¹ It opens with a picture of Job in his innocence and moral perfection (i. 1-5). The scene changes to the court of Yahweh in heaven, where His servants come to report on their work. One of the officials is the Satan,² whose business it is to discover whether good men are really good, and to bring the guilty before Yahweh for judgement and punishment. He is a kind of divine Attorney-General. Yahweh calls his attention to Job's perfections, and the Satan, who, in virtue of his profession, is necessarily somewhat cynical, refuses to believe that Job's conduct is disinterested, and insists that he is righteous for the sake of the prosperity with which he is rewarded. Yahweh gives the Satan permission to test Job, and a sudden series of disasters falls upon him, which, though reducing him to childlessness and beggary, does not make him swerve from his loyal submission to Yahweh (i. 6-22). Again Yahweh asks the Satan about Job, and the latter retorts that the suffering has not gone deep enough; Job himself must be attacked. As a result, grievous and loathsome sickness falls upon the victim, and he becomes an outcast. In spite of his wife's advice he still refuses to blame Yahweh. Three friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, come to "comfort" him (ch. ii).

Up to this point the book has been written in prose, but it now becomes poetry, which extends down to xlii. 6. The poem consists of a dialogue between Job and his friends, ending with the appearance of Yahweh and Job's final submission. The subject of debate is the age-long problem of the meaning of suffering, and it is worth noting that it could have arisen in this form nowhere in the ancient world except in Israel. The fact of suffering is universally admitted, and the attempt to avoid or escape it is one of the permanent springs of human action. But it becomes a problem only when it conflicts with the religious theory of a single ruler of the whole universe, who is at once omnipotent, wise, and good. This is a doctrine which does not

¹ The same problem is handled in a few other places in the O.T., *e.g.* in Hab. i. 12 ff.; Jer. xii. 1 f.; Pss. xxxvii, xlix, lxxiii, and, above all, in Isa. lii. 13-14.

² Always occurring with the definite article.

appear in the ancient world outside Israel; the question is an inevitable corollary of that ethical monotheism in which Judaism stood alone.

The solution of the problem maintained by the friends is that easy misinterpretation of the prophetic doctrine of retribution which regarded all suffering as punitive. Job must have been wicked beyond all men to have incurred so great a penalty. From this position the friends never move; the only change they experience is emotional, not intellectual, for, as the debate proceeds, they grow steadily more angry with Job, and more outspoken in their accusations. The discussion is arranged in set form. Job speaks first, and then each of the three friends speaks in turn, a speech of Job following each of the others. This cycle is repeated three times, though in our present text no third speech is assigned to Zophar, an omission generally held to be due to textual corruption. Finally, in chs. xxix-xxxi Job utters his concluding speech, ending with a great oath of purgation in ch. xxxi, and an appeal to Yahweh to appear and pronounce on the case.

This section, chs. iii-xxxi, forms the core of the book, and requires further discussion. The three friends are delicately distinguished from one another; Eliphaz, the eldest, is kindly, pious, even mystical, relying for his theology on direct revelation; Bildad is less sympathetic, but has the weight of ancient authority behind him; Zophar, the youngest, needs neither divine revelation nor tradition, for he himself knows all that needs to be known, and feels that he can state the truth with absolute and serene dogmatism. Yet they all represent exactly the same point of view, and contribute nothing to the elucidation of the problem. Job, on the other hand, moves forward, and one of the features of the poet's skill lies in the fact that each step he takes is made possible by something that the friends say. Thus his first speech, ch. iii, is simply a cry of pain, whose rhetorical questions in no way imply a real intellectual problem. Eliphaz, seeking to offer comfort, suggests that God is responsible for Job's calamities, and that if he will but repent and submit to God, all will be well. Never has

the futility of orthodox consolation been more ruthlessly exposed. Job's children are *dead*, and twenty others would not make up for those that have gone. He is suffering from leprosy¹ in its most terrible form, and can expect nothing but lingering pain, with She'ol as his only release. Truly Eliphaz would "heal the breach lightly"! But he has given Job an idea—it is God who is responsible, and the sufferer must ask why it is that irresponsible Omnipotence thus tortures him. Bildad replies that God is "righteous." The term has a double meaning, originally indicating the successful party in a legal action, and thence acquiring an ethical content. Job at once seizes on the word, and from this point onward the metaphor of the law-court is always with him. He admits that God is "righteous" in the forensic sense, but that makes matters only the worse, since there is no hope either of a fair trial or of an appeal. God is against him, and God is bound to win, for He is at once accuser, judge and executioner. Zophar urges him to submit, since he can never reach God (xi. 7), and the very denial kindles in Job's mind the thought that there may some day be a chance of stating his case before God (*e.g.* xiii. 3, xiv. 15).

In the second cycle of the debate the irritation of the friends has grown through the stubbornness of Job, and they feel that his impiety must be accompanied by deep-seated sinfulness. Eliphaz calls attention to the absolute purity of God, in whose sight even perfection is imperfect. Job replies that whatever wrong he has done, he has not deserved the unique punishment which has fallen upon him. A gleam of hope springs from this belief in divine faultlessness, and for a moment the thought comes over him, as the emotional tension of the poem heightens, that God must, after all, be on his side, and he appeals away from the God of orthodox theology to God as He must be (xvi. 18–21). But instantly his new-born relief is turned to despair; he is doomed, and even God cannot help him,

¹ While the description of Job's disease in ii. 7 is too vague to allow of accurate diagnosis, the references to the symptoms in the poem (*e.g.* vii. 5, 14–15, ix. 18, xxx. 30) leave no doubt as to the nature of the sickness.

for the grave is his only goal. Once more Bildad intervenes, and his contemptuous rebuke, which is almost an abusive threat, drives Job to the climax of his spiritual agony. In frantic desperation he turns this way and that—God, his family, the friends—finding neither help nor hope, till, out of the very depths of his despair, he makes the great leap of faith and reaches solid ground in the thought that, after all, death cannot be the end. There must be still, beyond the grave, the possibility that God will see true justice done, and Job himself will know it—"apart from my flesh, I shall see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not as a stranger" (xix. 26b-27). This is not yet a general doctrine of immortality, though it contains the germ of one; but it does restore Job's confidence in the ultimate rightness of the universe and its Governor. To the great problem there is a solution, and here or hereafter it is possible for Job to know it.

This does not end the debate. The general question of the government of the universe still remains unsolved, and Job turns to that again. His own sorrows are not forgotten, but they have already lost the keenness of their edge, and are much rather an illustration, in an extreme form, of the problem to be solved. Even Zophar's violence fails to rouse Job to passion, and his next speech, in ch. xxi, is a new statement of the general problem. This Eliphaz does not attempt to handle, but charges Job with definite sins, so dramatically preparing the way for the great oath of purgation in ch. xxxi. Otherwise Job is untouched by these accusations, and he now addresses himself to the problem of reaching God to lay his case before Him; the forensic metaphor once more rises to the surface.

Chs. xxv-xxvii are apparently in some disorder. Bildad's speech in xxv is very short, and xxvi, now put into the mouth of Job, is almost a continuation of it. Most commentators feel that the first verse of xxvi has found its way into the text by accident, and that Bildad's third speech includes this chapter also. Of Job's answer only xxvii. 1-6 survives, for it seems clear that the remainder of ch. xxvii

belongs to Zophar. Probably a section containing the end of Job's speech and the beginning of Zophar's was lost at an early stage in the history of the text. Ch. xxviii, even if original, is a parenthesis, and the debate concludes with Job's utterance in xxix-xxxi. The first of these chapters is devoted to a description of his former happiness; ch. xxx draws the contrast of his present misery, and in xxxi Job gives a detailed statement of the moral standard he has always attained. This is, many will feel, the highest point reached by the practical ethics of the Old Testament, in its justice, purity, and humanity, transcending anything that we find in the Law. The chapter ends (verses 38-40 are clearly out of place and should be read earlier in the chapter) with a proud appeal to God to appear and to hear the case Job can present.

At this point another character intervenes in the person of Elihu. He is younger than the rest, and has not hitherto been mentioned. His views occupy chs. xxxii-xxxvii, in the course of which he states his doctrine that the function of suffering is purgative. No further notice is taken of him, either by Job or by anyone else, and in xxxviii-xli Yahweh replies to Job's challenge, giving a picture of His majesty and power, which reduces Job to humble submission (xl. 3-5, xlii. 1-6). He has seen God for himself, and in that vision all his doubts and questionings sink into the background. In xlii. 7 the prose narrative is resumed; Yahweh justifies Job, condemns the friends, accepts the prayer of Job for their forgiveness, and restores to him double of what he has lost. The book closes with a picture which represents the ancient Israelite ideal of prosperity.

III. STRUCTURE AND DATE

i. *Structure.* The unity of the book has been widely challenged in recent years. Discussion has centred, in the main, about three points: (a) the relation of the prose opening and conclusion to the poem, (b) the originality of the Elihu speeches, (c) the originality of one or two shorter passages, e.g. ch. xxviii and xl. 15-xli. 34.

(a) It is held by many that the prose passages at the beginning and end of the book are not the work of the poet to whom we owe the intervening chapters. A difference is to be found in the divine name; in the prose we have Yahweh, in the poem other names, *e.g.* Shaddai (a term confined to P in the Pentateuch), and especially El and Eloah, the latter being a late singular formed from the naturally plural word Elohim. The fact that Job's sufferings are explained in the introduction by reference to the Satan, who does not appear at all in the poem, is easily understood on the ground that none of the earthly characters knows of the council in heaven, though it would not have been unnatural for a reference to have been introduced in Yahweh's speeches. But the whole conception of religion is different; that patient submission which the prologue ascribes to Job is what the friends want, not what the poet approves. The characters, both of Job and his friends, differ in the two parts. Even more impressive is the atmosphere which surrounds the two. With the opening verses of ch. iii we are conscious of the same kind of contrast with which we should meet if we read the story of Creation in Gen. ii. 4 ff., and then went straight back to the beginning of ch. i. It is the difference between a nursery story with a moral, and a philosophical discussion, inflamed by personal intimacy with the problem at issue. Not only is there this wide difference in the cultural ages of the two parts, but the relation of the author to his work strikes us at once. The narrator in chs. i, ii is telling a story about someone else; he makes us feel something of the tragedy of Job, but we see it sympathetically from the outside. The poet, on the other hand, was himself his hero; *he* was the leper who, through pain and torturing doubts of God, did win his way to a faith of some kind. It is, as so many commentators have remarked, with his own heart's blood that the poem is written; it is the agony of his own soul that he lays bare before us.

At the same time it is clear that the poem presupposes the introduction. It is true that the writer once or twice forgets himself (*e.g.* in xix. 17 his children are still living),

but such lapses are rare. We hear in Ezek. xiv. 14 of a Job who, along with Noah and Daniel, is a symbol of righteousness, and we can hardly doubt that the old story was used by the poet as a framework for his own work. The only question at issue is as to whether there was a book in which the popular story was embodied, or whether it was simply handed down by oral tradition. One or two small points tend to turn the balance in favour of the former view. When God appears in xxxviii. 1 the name Yahweh is used, suggesting that this was taken from the old story where that term was used throughout. Further, we have mention of a whirlwind. This is a detail which would hardly have been retained by the poet unless it had been before him in a written source. We are thus led to the probability that there existed, in pre-exilic days, a tale which the poet found in written form, giving an account of the sufferings of Job, of his patient forbearance, of a dialogue with his three friends, and of the appearance of Yahweh at the end. What the friends had said we do not know—perhaps they had given Job the same kind of advice as his wife did (ii. 10). In any case, the old dialogue was excised, and the poem inserted in its place.¹

(b) The Elihu speeches have all the appearance of a later insertion. They postpone the theophany which is logically required immediately after xxxi. 37, and they add little to the debate, for, in spite of the suggestion that the purpose of suffering is for purifying, they take substantially the view adopted by the friends. Elihu is introduced in a fashion very different from that in which the other three friends are brought on the scene, and there is no other reference to him whatever. There are also important philological differences between chs. xxxii-xxxvii and the rest of the poem.² Nevertheless, several leading scholars hold to the originality of these chapters. Budde, for instance, argues

¹ McFadyen, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, pp. 311-315 (1932), and E. and K. Kautzsch (cp. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 213: 1923) stand almost alone in ascribing the framework to the poet himself; Driver and Gray are inclined to the same view, but do not positively adopt it (*Job*, pp. xxxiv-xxxvii).

² For a detailed analysis see Driver and Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job*, pp. xli-xlvi (1921).

that they contain the only real solution of the problem which the poet had to offer;¹ and Sellin,² following a hint thrown out by Kamphausen and Merx, believes that they were written by the poet himself, but represent a view much later than that of the rest of the book. After years of further meditation the poet felt it necessary to insert his new opinions. Sellin compares the differences in outlook exhibited by the two parts of Goethe's *Faust*. But in spite of the weight of opinion represented by these scholars, it remains true that the majority still feel that Elihu represents a redactional stage which would have been repudiated by the original poet.

(c) Ch. xxviii is generally recognized as having little to do with the book or with its main purpose. It is a hymn in praise of Wisdom, which is in the end (if the last verse be original in the poem) identified with the fear of the Lord. It might be regarded as an attempt to solve the problem created by the doctrine of divine omnipotence in an imperfect world by calling attention to the inscrutability of God's ways. This would almost certainly imply its insertion in the poem by a later hand, since this view is already expressed to some extent by the friends, and receives fuller amplification in the speeches of God Himself.

One other section often attributed to a later writer is the description of the two monstrous creatures, the hippopotamus and the crocodile, in xl. 15-xli. 34. The passage in which they occur does deal with the marvels of God in nature, and refers to several creatures. But the descriptions of these two are much shorter, and, though they attain a high literary standard, they are not on the same level as that reached by the rest of the divine speeches.

ii. *Date*. If the account of the structure of the book above suggested be the true one, we have to consider two dates, that of the popular story and that of the poem. The former is certainly pre-exilic, a conclusion which is obvious both from the reference in Ezekiel, already mentioned, and

¹ See *Das Buch Hiob* (1913), pp. xlv-xlviii, where Kamphausen, Cornill and Wildeboer are also cited as holding the originality of the Elihu speeches.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 214-220.

from the fact that the sacrificial system is clearly not developed as it was in post-exilic times. It is less easy to be sure of the date of the poem. In vii. 17 we have words which read like a bitter parody on Ps. viii. 4. But what is the date of this Psalm? The subject of the book, provided we do not place it too early, is one which might have exercised the mind of any thoughtful Israelite after the Exile. It is a universal poem, and that is one of the features which give it its value and its interest for us to-day. The implicit monotheism makes a post-exilic date practically certain, and there are peculiarities of style and language which suggest that it is not to be placed too soon after the Return. Occasionally, for instance, we meet with Aramaisms, not only in vocabulary but even in syntax.¹ In general, these considerations would seem to point to somewhere between the middle of the fifth century and the middle of the fourth. But there are few poems in all literature whose date and historical background are of less importance than they are in the book of *Job*.

IV. THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF THE BOOK

We cannot leave the book without noting the difficulty that commentators have found in satisfying themselves in regard to the answer which the book gives to the problem stated therein—the inequality of suffering and its apparent injustice. We should, however, remark that there are two problems. One is the purely personal one, and concerns God's attitude to Job himself. Is He the friend or the enemy of His faithful servant? This receives a certain answer in the great passage xix. 25 ff., where Job is at least assured that God must and will vindicate him. The other problem is more general, and the book as it stands contains no less than three different attempts to solve it.

(a) In the first place we have the explanation offered by the popular tale. Here the suffering of the hero is due, not to any fault of his own, but to the jealous cynicism of

¹ Cp. Driver and Gray, *op. cit.*, pp. xlvi–xlvi, with the literature there cited.

the Satan. "Doth Job fear God for naught?" is a valid question, not only for ancient Israel, but for every other age in human history—we think, inevitably, of Glaucon's description of the perfectly righteous man.¹ Like Plato, the story-teller could find no answer except in the humiliation and hopeless agony of the faultless man, and his suffering becomes a test, the only valid test, of *disinterested* righteousness.

(b) Such a solution may help the sufferer, but it does not touch the heart of the problem. Is God justified in torturing a perfectly good and innocent person, merely to prove that he is good and innocent? It is a justification of God, a theodicy, that is needed, and the demand for a further explanation is the motive inspiring the poet to whom we owe the greater part of the book. In the poem, the friends insist that suffering can be explained only as punishment due to, and proportioned to, sin, but one of the obvious aims of the book is to challenge this theory. The striking fact in the poet's discussion is that the divine pronouncement at the end contains no hint at an answer. God simply presents Himself as He is, and Job is cowed, and abhors himself in dust and ashes. This is no solution of the problem, and the poet cannot have intended it to be understood as one. In other words, it looks as though he had deliberately told his readers that there was no solution—at least none that the human mind could appreciate.

What, then, does Job's final attitude imply? We must remember that we are dealing with an Eastern, especially with a Jewish, mind, and we must not expect that our own feelings and instincts will meet with full satisfaction in what appeals to an ancient Jew, great poet and deep thinker though he be. With this in mind let us look once more at the *dénouement*. Job, at the end of ch. xxxi, has appealed to God to appear, and is prepared "as a prince to enter His presence" bearing a convincing statement of his case with him. In answer to this challenge God does appear, and presents Himself in all His creative majesty. At once Job forgets his case, and ceases to be urged by his problems. In the presence of God these things vanish away, and only

¹ See Plato, *Repub.*, Bk. II, 361 f.

God is left. True, the experience is one which instils into him the deepest awe and self-contempt, but these are just the aspects of the matter that would be inevitable to the ancient Oriental. Translated into modern terms, however, we may surely say that the supreme lesson of the close of this book is that when once a man has really stood face to face with God, he has no more doubts. The question may have no logical answer, the problem may find no formal solution, but that does not matter; the sufferer has seen God, and that is enough. In that vision, and in the knowledge which it brings, he can rest in patience and spiritual contentment. In him is fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet, "he shall look away out of the agony of his soul, and shall be satisfied by his knowledge."¹

(c) The third attempt at a solution belongs to a point of view best represented by the Elihu speeches, though it may, possibly, be detected elsewhere. Here we have the position of a reader of the popular story and of the poem, who felt that there was one very serious fault in Job's character, which needed correction. Throughout the debate he has insisted on his substantial righteousness. He may have done what was wrong in the sight of God, but such sins were insignificant and unconscious. While many will feel that this determined self-justification was the natural, almost inevitable, reaction of the sufferer to the theology of the three friends, it can also be interpreted as evidence of a self-righteous Pharisaism, and in that light it was viewed by the author of the Elihu speeches. This gives him a clue: there is a double purpose in Job's calamities. In the first place they bring to light a deep-seated and subtle weakness. Prosperity would never have shown that Job was so fatally "righteous in his own eyes";² in the crucible of adversity this spiritual dross has risen to the surface. But, further, Job's sufferings have offered a remedy for the disease. The poem ended with the hero lying contrite and penitent at the feet of God. He "abhors himself in dust and ashes." His self-righteousness has gone

¹ Isa. liii. 11.

² xxxii. 1.

and it was the purging fires of pain that had rid him of this subtle impurity of soul.

Our first perusal of the book may have left us with the feeling that the essential theme is handled in a confusing and uncertain fashion. It is only when we recognize the fact that *Job* is the result of a growth in which three main stages can be distinguished, and that each stage presents its own view of the problem, that the various lines of thought are clear, and the book takes its proper place in the story of man's developing knowledge of God.

V. THE TEXT OF THE BOOK

The textual criticism of the book of *Job* presents some interesting and unusual features. The MT is usually straightforward, though there are passages which defy translation as they stand. In some cases the *Peshitta* shows a certain independence, but the greatest variations are to be seen in the Septuagint. It is true that this version, as presented in our printed copies, does not differ greatly from the MT, but it is known that this is not the original Septuagint. When the translation was first made, it was much shorter than it is now, between 350 and 400 *stichoi*, which appear in the MT and the modern Septuagint texts, being omitted. That these omissions were early is clear from Origen's recension, and from the Sahidic Egyptian version, which was brought to light only in 1889. In the forms of the Septuagint generally familiar to us, this shorter text has been expanded from the later Greek versions, and so brought into closer agreement with the MT. It is, however, agreed on all hands that the Septuagint text is, as a rule, a deliberate abbreviation of the MT.¹

¹ Gray and Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxi-lxxvi.

THE PSALMS

I. PLACE IN THE CANON: GENERAL TITLE

IN the Hebrew Bible the *Psalms* heads the list in the third division of the Canon, called *Kethubim*, "Writings" (*Hagiographa*).

There are many religious poems in the historical and prophetic books; but with the exception of *Lamentations*, this is the only book which consists exclusively of such poems.¹

The title of our book in the Hebrew Bible is *Tehillim*,² the plural of *Tehillah*, meaning a "hymn of praise." This title is inappropriate, for most of the psalms cannot be called hymns of praise; and though this word occurs in the body of a number of psalms, there is only one which is called a *Tehillah* (cxlv).

At the conclusion of Ps. lxxii a note is added: "The prayers of David the son of Jesse, are ended." This suggests that at one time the general title of these seventy-two psalms had been "Prayers," in Hebrew *Tephilloth*. But this title, too, would have been inappropriate, for not many of these psalms are in the nature of prayers, and only a single one is called a "prayer" (xyii).³

In the Septuagint the book is called βίβλος ψαλμῶν ("Book of psalms"), or ψαλμοί ("Psalms"), or ψαλτήριον ("Psalter"); this last means primarily "stringed instrument," i.e. psaltery; then it comes to mean the *song* sung to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument. The Greek title comes, no doubt, from the Hebrew word *mizmor*, which is the most common title for individual psalms; ⁴ its root meaning is to "pluck," i.e. taking hold of the strings with

¹ The *Song of Songs* does not contain religious poems.

² On the masculine plural form of this feminine noun see Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 87, i, p.

³ Ps. lxxxvi is also called a "prayer."

⁴ Fifty-seven psalms are so called in their titles.

the fingers, and thus connotes singing to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument.

II. THE TITLES OF INDIVIDUAL PSALMS

While these titles are in all probability due to editors, there are good grounds for believing that in many cases they reflect some traditional use in regard to particular psalms, and some interesting points arise in this connexion. To deal exhaustively with the subject would be out of place here ;¹ we are concerned only with giving a few illustrations.

i. *Titles containing musical directions.*² Apart from *mizmor* the most frequently occurring musical term in the titles is *Lammenaṣeah* (fifty-five times); it is rendered in the R.V.: "For the Chief Musician," which is as unsatisfactory as a number of the other various explanations which have been offered. The term is undoubtedly a puzzle, as it was, too, to the ancient translators. What would appear to be the most acceptable explanation, though this also has its difficulties, is that suggested by Haupt,³ and tentatively followed by Gunkel;⁴ by a change in the vowel-points he reads the word *Lamminṣah* (למִנְצַח), which would mean: "regarding the musical rendering."⁵ If this meaning is applied to the term a reasonable sense is obtainable in a large number of titles in which indications are given as to how the psalm is to be sung; thus, e.g., in the titles of Pss. iv, vi, liv, lv, lxi, lxvii, lxxvi, the musical direction is *Lamminṣah bineginoth*, "regarding the musical rendering: with stringed instruments" (probably of some special kind), i.e. the psalm was to be sung to the accompaniment of stringed instruments; similarly it is directed that Ps. v, so far as its musical rendering is concerned, is to be sung with flute accompaniment (cp. Isa. xxx. 29); Pss. lvii, lviii, lix, lxxv are to be sung to

¹ For details see, e.g., Briggs, *The Book of Psalms*, pp. lvii–lxxxviii (1906).

² It should be pointed out that Briggs holds that these musical directions in the titles indicate collections from which the poems were taken, while Mowinckel believes that they have cultural significance. We are unable to concur with either of these views.

³ *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (1907).

⁴ *Die Psalmen* (1926); see the rendering of the titles below.

⁵ Cp. i Chron. xv. 21, where the verb means "to render music," or something similar.

the tune of "Destroy not" (on this see below). In a large number of psalms *mizmor* is added to *Lamminšah*, which would presumably mean that these psalms were to be rendered in the ordinary way, *mizmor* being the most common designation of a psalm sung to the accompaniment of the simplest stringed instruments. A difficulty arises when *Lamminšah* is followed by the name of David, which occurs in the titles of several psalms (e.g. xxi, xxxi, xl and others); possibly this means that the psalm is to be sung in the Davidic style, i.e. in some archaic mode (but see § III (a)).

In the titles to Pss. vi, xii the term '*al hash-sheminith*' occurs: the R.V. renders this: "set to Sheminith," marg. "the eighth"; the most obvious meaning of this would seem to be, "on the octave," and this is the most usual explanation given. It is, however, practically certain that the ancient Jewish scale was not an octave; we have here the traditional, as distinct from the more modern, music of the Arabs to go upon; and all authorities are agreed that the Arabs—at any rate, until very recent times—have retained unchanged their customs of millenniums ago; this would certainly apply to music, and more especially to religious music; it is also agreed on all hands that we must picture the music of the Hebrews as very similar to that of the *primitive* type of Arab music which can be heard at the present day. Now it is well known that the Arabs recognize quarter-tones as well as semitones, therefore they have no octave consisting of eight tones and thirteen semitones; and the same applies to ancient Hebrew music. Therefore the term '*al hash-sheminith*' cannot mean "on the octave," i.e. that the musical instruments played, or the male voices sang, an octave lower.¹ Whatever the term meant—and it is quite uncertain what is to be understood by it—it cannot have meant this. Some authorities think it may refer to the place of the psalm in a particular collection, i.e. the eighth; but in this case it might well be expected that some other psalms would have had their place in a collection designated; but this is not the case. In this connexion mention should also be made of the expression '*al alamoṯ*' (R.V. "set to Alamoṯ"), which

¹ In i Chron. xv. 21 the term is used in reference to harps.

occurs in the title of Ps. xlv; ¹ the word means "maidens," and is usually held to refer to high-pitched, or soprano voices; this is not likely to be correct, since it is used, like *'al hash-sheminith*, in reference to stringed instruments (i Chron. xv. 20). It is clear that both these terms indicated something in connexion with the musical rendering of the psalm; but what this was it is now not possible to say with certainty.

ii. *Titles containing the names of popular melodies.* Of greater interest are the cases in which a psalm is directed to be sung to some well-known melody; a few of these may be noted. Three psalms (viii, lxxxi, lxxxiv) have in their titles "According to Gittith" (R.V. "Set to Gittith"); this has often been held to refer to some kind of instrument which took its name from the Philistine city of Gath, and to the accompaniment of which the psalms in question were to be sung. This is improbable, for there is no reason why the Israelites should have borrowed an instrument from the Philistines, nor is there anywhere the slightest hint to this effect. The Old Testament gives the names of a number of musical instruments—percussion, wind, and string—but there is never any mention of an instrument of this kind. The only reason apparently why this explanation of "Gittith" has been offered is because it is said in the Targum to the Psalms that "Gittith" refers to an instrument that came from Gath; but this is only a guess suggested by the fact that the form "Gittith" is equivalent to "Gath-like," or "Gathic." This, however, is equally true of the Hebrew word *gath*, which means a "wine-press"; this is how the Septuagint understood the word, and it is so explained in the Midrash on the *Psalms*, where reference is made to Joel iv. (R.V. iii) 13: "Put ye in the sickle, for the vintage is ripe; come, tread ye, for the winepress (*gath*) is full, the fats overflow." It is, therefore, possible that "according to Gittith" means "wine-press-like," *i.e.* the melody to which the psalm was to be sung was the tune of a vintage song. This is supported by another interesting title at the head of Pss. lvii, lviii, lix, lxxv; it is directed that these are to be

¹ Probably also in that of xlix originally; it figures now as the last word in xlviii.

sung to the tune of *'al-tashheth*, which means, "Destroy (it) not"—these are the opening words of the first line of a popular vintage song which is quoted in Isa. lxxv. 8: ". . . As the new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith—then comes the quotation—'Destroy it not (*'al-tashheth*), for a blessing is in it,' . . ." This song was thus so well known that it could be referred to by its opening words; and to the tune of this song the psalms in question were to be sung.

Another case of this kind occurs in the title of Ps. lvi; here it is directed that the psalm is to be sung to the tune of "The dove of the far-off terebinths."¹ Possibly there is a quotation from this song in Ps. lv. 6, 7: "Oh that I had wings like a dove; then would I fly away and be at rest." Ps. xxii, again, is, according to the title, to be sung to the tune of the song known as *'Ayyeleth hash-shahar*, "The hind of the morning"; here also it is possible that this song is quoted in Ps. xlii. 1: "As the hart² panteth after the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God;" there are other affinities between these two psalms. A number of other illustrations could be given (*e.g.* in the titles of Pss. ix, xviii, xxxvi, xlv, liii, lx, lxix, lxxx); they show that the Israelites took over the melodies of popular folk-songs for use in the Temple worship; and it is interesting to note that this custom was continued in the Synagogue worship until well into the Middle Ages.³

iii. *Some other terms occurring in titles.* A few other terms call for a brief notice. *Maskil* figures in the titles of thirteen psalms;⁴ the word comes from a root meaning to have "insight" or to show "prudence" (cp. Am. v. 13), and the form of the verb from which *Maskil* is derived has a causative sense, so that the word would mean "insight-giving," and in reference to a psalm it would be one that by its contents taught insight. But there is another possibility; in ii Chron.

¹ Reading תִּשְׁחֶה, "terebinths," for the meaningless תִּשְׁחֶה, "in silence."

² Some authorities would read the fem. תִּשְׁחֶה "hind," for חֲרָד, "hart," as giving a better rhythm.

³ See the "Introductory volume" to the *Oxford History of Music*, pp. 55 ff. (1929).

⁴ Pss. xxxii, xlii, xlv, lii-lv, lxxiv, lxxviii, lxxxviii, lxxxix, cxlii.

xxx. 22 the verb, in its causative form, is used in reference to the Levites, and may therefore be applied to the quality of their singing or of their instrumental playing; in this case a *Maskil* psalm would be one which was accompanied by some special kind of music. It is, however, more probable that the former explanation is right, especially as this is borne out by the contents of the psalms in question.

Regarding the term *Miktam*, occurring in the titles of six psalms,¹ there is much difference of opinion; the root meaning of the word is uncertain, and it seems impossible to come to any definite conclusion as to what the term means.

Pss. cxx-cxxxiv are called "Songs of Ascents"; these were no doubt sung by pilgrims as they ascended up to Jerusalem, the city on a hill; hence the title.

Ps. vii is called a *Shiggaion* in the title; this, again, is explained in a variety of ways, to all of which there are objections; it is impossible to feel any certitude as to its meaning.²

In the title to Ps. xcii this psalm is called a "song for the Sabbath day"; the Mishnah³ tell us that there was a special psalm for each day of the week; they are given thus: xxiv, xlvi, lxxxii, xciv, lxxxi, xciii, and for the Sabbath xcii; with the exception of the third and fifth days, for which no psalm is given, this agrees with the titles in the Septuagint.

Two psalms (xxxviii and lxx) have in their titles the word *Lehazkir*, meaning "to bring to remembrance"; it can also mean "to make confession," which would be very appropriate for xxxvii, but not for lxx. Some commentators hold, with good reason, that the word should be read, 'azkarah "memorial," which is the technical word used in Lev. ii. 2, 9 for the meal-offering; it is, therefore, probable that these two psalms were sung during the offering of the *Minḥah*, as the meal-offering was called in post-exilic times. This is how the Targum understood the term.

Some other elements in the titles will be considered in § III.

¹ Pss. xvi, lvi-lx.

² Possibly *Shigionoth* (Hab. iii. 1) comes from the same root and has the same meaning. ³ *Tamid* vii.

Finally, though not occurring in the title of any psalm, a word must be said about the term *Selah*. That this must be a musical direction of some kind is suggested by the fact that it nearly always occurs in psalms which have *Lamminšah* in their titles. The term *Selah* figures almost always at the end of a strophe or of a section,¹ and, as a rule, it is not included in the strophic rhythm, though sometimes it is, and disturbs the metre.² Its meaning has been much disputed; unfortunately the two most scientific explanations make it mean two directly opposite things: the root-meaning of the word is to "lift up" (לָחַם), but the "lifting up" can refer either to the voices or to the musical accompaniment; the Septuagint, which may well have retained an echo of traditional liturgical usage, renders it *διάψαλμα*; it is uncertain what this word means, but it is obviously connected with *ψάλλειν*, which, as already pointed out, refers to stringed instruments; it is, therefore, probable that *Selah* refers to these. In this case the word might indicate that the music was to be "lifted up," i.e. the voices ceased, and the instruments played alone; this is supported by the fact that *Selah* usually comes at the end of a strophe, i.e. a halt in the words, and therefore a cessation of the voices.³

III. COLLECTIONS EMBODIED IN THE PSALTER

In its present form the Psalter is divided into five books: i-xli; xlii-lxxii; lxxiii-lxxxix; xc-cvi; cvii-cl. Each of the first four closes with a doxology, in the case of the fifth, Ps. cl, being itself a doxology, makes a fitting close. That these five divisions are artificial, made probably on the pattern of the five books of Moses, is evident, for on closer examination divisions of a very different kind are to be discerned.

In the first place, it will be seen that by the different use

¹ It is found seventy-one times in the Hebrew of the *Psalms*, in the Septuagint more frequently; in the psalm of Hab. iii it occurs three times; twice in the middle of a verse, once at the end, though not at the end of the section.

² On the metrical system of the *Psalms*, see above, pp. 142 ff.

³ Briggs, on the other hand, holds that *Selah* "calls for the lifting up of the voice in praise" (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxv). On the whole subject of these titles see Mowinckel, *Psalmstudien* iv (1923).

of the divine name three large groups of psalms are separated off; thus in Pss. i-xli (Book I) Yahweh is used; in Pss. xlii-lxxxix (Books II, III) for the most part Elohim is used; and in Pss. xc-cl (Books IV, V) Yahweh is again used. Whatever may have been the reason for this varying use of the divine name, the present point is that by this means three large divisions were marked off.

But both the five-book division and the three-group division belong to later times; the Psalter was originally formed by gathering together a number of independent collections; these collections were as follows:

(a) The "*Davidic*" psalms: iii-ix; xi-xxxii; xxxiv-xli; li-lxv; lxviii-lxx; lxxxvi; ci; ciii; cviii-cx; cxxii; cxxiv; cxxxiii; cxxxviii-cxlv, making altogether seventy-two psalms which are ascribed to David.

(b) The *Korahite* psalms: xlii; xliv-xlix; lxxxiv; lxxxv; lxxxvii; lxxxviii; eleven in number.

(c) The *Asaphite* psalms: l; lxxiii-lxxxiii; twelve in number.

(d) The *Ma'alothe*, "*Songs of Ascents*": cxx-cxxxiv; fifteen in number.

(e) The *Hallelujah* psalms: civ-cvi; cxi-cxiii; cxv-cxvii; cxxxv; cxlvi-cl; again fifteen in number.

In each case there are a certain number of psalms with the same ascription running consecutively, which points to their having at one time belonged, respectively, to separate collections.

Further, as we have seen, at the end of Ps. lxxii occur the words: "The prayers of David, the son of Jesse, are ended"; that clearly points to a completed collection. But as there are many other psalms besides these which are ascribed to David, there was, presumably, at one time another collection of "*Davidic*" psalms.

Another thing pointing to separate collections is that some psalms occur twice over with only small variations; thus, xiv is the same psalm as liii with one or two minor differences; the same is true of xl. 13-17 and lxx; and lvii. 7-11 together with lx. 5-12 (Hebr. 7-14), make up cviii. Obviously, a psalm would not figure twice in the same collection, whereas

this is easily comprehensible if several collections were amalgamated, for a favourite psalm might well have been preserved by more than one person in his collection.

It is, therefore, clear that a number of collections have been incorporated in the Psalter; and these collections were of gradual growth, for the individual psalms were not written with the object of forming a collection; many authors wrote psalms, and long after their composition they were collected; this process was repeated in the case of many other psalms which were current. Ultimately, all these collections were gathered together, and thus the Psalter, as we now have it, came into being.

IV. THE DATES OF THE PSALMS

In dealing with this subject it must be recognized that, generally speaking, the nature of the content of most of the psalms makes the assigning of dates precarious; certain indications will, not infrequently, help to decide within what period a particular psalm is likely to have been written, and in most cases this is as near as we can get with any feeling of certitude to the date of a psalm. The matter is also complicated by the fact that so many psalms have been subjected to revision; such revision may sometimes make a psalm appear to be of later date than it is in its origin. And there are other problems which present themselves in seeking to assign dates.

But in spite of difficulties it is possible, within certain limits, to come to some definite conclusions on the subject.

Starting from the lower limit, it may be pointed out that there is no reason why the collection known as the "Psalms of Solomon"¹ (*circa* 50 B.C.) should not have been included in the Psalter (which was not the case) unless the Canon had been closed by this time. Indeed, since this collection emanated from the Pharisees, who were by now the dominant party, it would certainly have been incorporated in the Psalter had this been possible. It is, therefore, clear

¹ That these psalms were originally written in Hebrew is generally recognized.

that by the middle of the first century B.C. the Psalter had assumed its present form.

Next, in the words of Swete: "The division of the Psalter into books seems to have been already made when it was translated into Greek, for though the Greek codices have nothing to answer to the headings סֵפֶר רִאשׁוֹן ('Book the first'), etc., which appear in the printed Hebrew Bible, the doxologies at the end of the first four books appear in the Greek as well as in the Massoretic text."¹ It follows, therefore, that at the latest the close of the Psalter had taken place by the end of the second century B.C.; in other words, the task of gathering together the various collections of psalms circulating among the Jews was finished, at the latest, about 100 B.C.; so that it is not until this date that we can even begin to consider the question of the dates of the different collections, let alone the dates of the individual psalms comprised in these collections. The latest psalms, therefore, were written before 100 B.C. To go back one step farther, Kittel has shown² that the collections of the "Korah" and "Asaph" psalms belong approximately to 300 B.C., *i.e.* to the early part of the Greek period; the detailed proof of this would take us too far afield,³ but there is every reason to believe in the correctness of this estimate.

It would be out of the question to discuss here the dates of individual psalms; it must suffice to say that, with some exceptions, Pss. lxxiii-cl (*i.e.* Books III-V) belong largely to the Greek period and later, though a certain number must be assigned to the Persian period (*circa* 500-300 B.C.); the reason for believing that some psalms belong to this period is that while they are clearly post-exilic, they contain elements which demand a date before the Greek period. It is also probable that there are some psalms in Book II (xlii-lxxii), and even isolated ones in Book I, which are post-exilic.

Our next step must be to give reasons for the contention that a large number of psalms in Books I, II are pre-exilic.

¹ *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 254 (1900).

² *Die Psalmen*, p. xxi (1929).

³ See Kittel, *ibid.*

(a) There is at least a *prima facie* probability that some psalms must be pre-exilic. The Temple with its services had existed for about three centuries before the Exile; that songs of praise were sung is demonstrable (see below), and it is incredible that these should have been forgotten during the Exile when the loss of sacrificial worship enhanced the importance of other forms of worship.

(b) There is a number of passages in the Old Testament which show that in pre-exilic times there was singing with musical accompaniment as an act of worship. Apart from such passages as Judg. v. 1 ff.—the song of Deborah; Exod. xv. 1–18, the psalm ascribed to Moses; Exod. xv. 20, 21, the reference to Miriam's song; Exod. xxxii. 17 ff., the singing during the worship of the golden calf—there is an obvious reference to singing with accompaniment of musical instruments in worship in Am. v. 21–23: "I hate, I despise your feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt offerings and meal offerings I will not accept them. . . . Take away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols." Quite clearly this eighth-century prophet is speaking here in reference to singing and instrumental music in public worship. Isaiah, too, has in mind the Temple worship when he says: "Ye shall have a song as in the night when a holy feast is kept; and gladness of heart, as when one goeth with a pipe to come into the mountain of Yahweh" (xxx. 29). In Ps. cxxxvii. 3, 4 there is a reference to the Temple songs sung before the Exile: "For there they that led us captive required of us songs . . . sing us one of the songs of Zion. . . . How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" The implied refusal to sing these holy songs before Gentile strangers must be balanced by the words which follow: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget," *i.e.* how to play the stringed instrument accompaniment.

These passages, and they are not exhaustive, show then that the singing of songs in worship with instrumental accompaniment was familiar to the Israelites in pre-exilic times. Such songs would not have been forgotten, and it

is certain that a number of them have been preserved in the Psalter, though not, it may well be, in their original form.

(c) There are many religious conceptions expressed in some of the psalms which mark them as pre-exilic; this applies especially to the doctrine of God. Thoughts and expressions occur in reference to Yahweh which cannot possibly have originated after the Exile, *e.g.* Ps. xviii. 7-10; the only way of explaining the presence of such crude ideas is that they were retained just because the psalms in which they occur had been handed down for many generations, and the tenacity of traditional use refused to part with them.

(d) Finally, there is the presence of the "royal psalms" in the Psalter, *i.e.* those in which reference is made to the king; these are: ii, xviii, xx, xxi, xxviii, xl, lxi, lxiii, lxxii, cx, cxxxii. These may not in every case refer to an Israelite king, and while we may not wholly agree with what Sellin says on the subject, there is a good deal of truth in his words: "The desperate attempts, there is no other word for it, to interpret these (*i.e.* passages in which the king is mentioned) as referring to a future Messiah, a foreign king, or a Maccabæan prince, must be regarded as one and all complete failures. The prince is always a real personage of the present world, though, no doubt, in ii, xxi, xlv, lxxii-cx, a personality in whom the poet also celebrates the expected Saviour, the divine deliverer. This excludes a foreign king as completely as the title 'king' . . . excludes a Simon, or other prince, of the Maccabæan family."¹

While, therefore, the great majority of the psalms must be regarded as post-exilic, there is an appreciable number which should be assigned to some period before the Exile, and possibly some which were written during the Exile.

Indications as to the period to which individual psalms belong may be summarized thus:—

Pre-exilic period: the presence of "primitive" ideas about Yahweh; references to the king; references to the northern kingdom, though the mention of "Israel" does not always

¹ *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 200 (1923).

denote the northern kingdom; references to Yahweh as king point to a psalm being pre-exilic in origin, though its present form may be later.

Exilic period : references to the Dispersion may in some cases point to this period; similarly, the mention of the enmity of Edom (cp. Ezek. xxv. 12-14, xxxv), though this will usually point to a later period. It is also possible that where affinity with the thought of prophetic teaching occurs the psalm in question may be exilic. The possibility of a similar date, or even a later one, must be recognized for a psalm in which eschatological thought is expressed. And the possibility applies to a dirge psalm.

Post-exilic : to this period belong psalms in which personal devotion to Yahweh is expressed, and in which the problem of the suffering of the righteous is dealt with; also those in which the Law and the oral tradition are mentioned, and in which a universalistic note is struck. To a late post-exilic date may be assigned those psalms which exhibit literary development in one form or another, such as acrostic psalms; also the sapiential psalms; and, finally, those in which there is a reference to atheism (Greek period).

V. TYPES OF PSALMS

In reading one or other of the English versions of the Psalter the meaning of any particular passage seems, as a rule, to be perfectly straightforward and simple; and therefore it is by no means always realized how difficult it often is to grasp the full meaning of a psalm in its Hebrew form. Nothing illustrates this more convincingly than the large variety of interpretations offered by commentators. If the essential meaning of a psalm, or a passage in a psalm, were always clear, a consensus of opinion would soon be established, and there would not be so many different explanations offered.

One reason for the difficulty of understanding the real meaning of so many verses in the psalms is that the metrical structure of Hebrew poetry is characterized by verbal exiguity; the sentences are extremely short and consist often

of three, sometimes of only two, words; and such sentences follow one another without any indication of their logical connexion. Gunkel,¹ in drawing attention to this, gives a simple illustration; the Hebrew poet writes: "Yahweh is my shepherd, I shall not want;" each sentence consists of only two words in Hebrew. A Greek writer would have made it clear that the second sentence was the logical result of the first; but the Hebrew poet omits a "therefore." In the case of this simple illustration it may be said that the connexion is so obvious that no connecting link is needed; but there are very many instances in which the absence of any indication of the nature of the connexion between two laconic sentences makes it difficult to decide what the poet really meant; often several interpretations seem possible, but there is no guarantee as to which is the right one.

Another difficulty arises on account of the Hebrew use of tenses; the formation of Hebrew sentences, especially in poetry, is of a somewhat "primitive" order, and the tenses are exceedingly variable in their meaning; so that, as Gunkel says, such a thing may occur as that commentators differ on the point as to whether a psalm is to be interpreted as a lament over some present calamity, or as a thanksgiving for a happy deliverance from some past trouble (cp. Pss. xli, cxvi, Isa. xxxviii, 10-20).

The only way whereby a true interpretation is to be obtained—and it is Gunkel's great merit to have discovered this—is by recognizing to what type or family (*Gattung*) a psalm belongs, and by elucidating it in the light of other psalms belonging to the same type or family; it is, as he says, "a fundamental, scientific principle that nothing can be understood apart from its *milieu* (*Zusammenhang*)."¹ Therefore, if psalms which, by their nature, content, and special terms, can be shown to belong to the same type, are grouped together and compared, it is evident that this must facilitate their understanding, and the purpose for which, and the occasion on which, they were written. This has been done by Gunkel, and the following are the types into which he divides the psalms (one example of each is given in brackets):

¹ *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, pp. 1 ff. (1928).

(a) *Congregational psalms* : among these are to be reckoned *hymns*¹ which were sung in the sanctuary on holy days during sacred rites of various kinds for the purpose of giving glory to God; these were sung on behalf of the congregation either by the choir as a whole, or by a trained singer as a solo (xcv); *national dirges*, sung by the whole congregation on occasions of some public calamity; they express the mourning and grief felt by the people, together with the hope for better times, and prayer for divine mercy (xi); *pilgrim songs*, sung during pilgrimages to the sanctuary in Jerusalem, either by the whole company of pilgrims or by one of their number, and, in all probability, antiphonally (lxxxiv); songs of *national victory*, sung on appropriate occasions by the whole congregation, and accompanied by music and dancing (cxlix); *national thanksgiving*; these like the preceding were probably sung in procession (xlviii). Some of those under the third heading were also congregational.

(b) *Psalms of the individual* : these include dirges originally sung or uttered in the Temple by private individuals in times of sickness or trouble, or during the performance of sacred rites, such as sacrifices, because it was believed that at such times the Deity was closer at hand and therefore more approachable (xxii); *thanksgivings*, said or sung in the Temple during the thank-offering (*todah*); they express gratitude for deliverance from sickness or trouble (xviii); *curses*, uttered by an individual against his enemy; the curse was believed to be more effective if uttered in the sanctuary (cix).

(c) *Miscellaneous types* : most important among these were the *sacred songs* sung by the congregation in commemoration of Yahweh's ascent upon His throne² (xvii); here belong also the "*royal*" *psalms* sung by the court singers on festive occasions in honour of the king and the royal house (xlv);³ further, psalms, or parts of psalms, in which the priests in chorus called upon the congregation to pronounce a *blessing*

¹ Gunkel, *Einleitung*, pp. 32-94.

² On these, in addition to Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, the psalms in question, *Einleitung*, pp. 94-116, see Mowinckel *Psalmstudien*, II, pp. 1-209 (1922); III, pp. 30 ff. (1923), and Hans Schmidt, *Die Thronfahrt Jahwes* (1927).

³ Gunkel, *Einleitung*, pp. 140-171.

on *Yahweh* (cxxxiv); *sacred legends*, commemorated in psalms; such legends are brought in only incidentally in hymns of praise; but the psalms in question are sufficiently distinctive to constitute a type of their own (viii); "*prophetic*" *psalms*, in which different themes of the teaching of the prophets, which exercised a great influence on the religiously-minded, were taken up and embodied in psalms; they were sung, sometimes at any rate, by an individual in the Temple (xl); and Wisdom psalms.¹

Finally, it appears that in some psalms there has been a deliberate mixing up of subject-matter in which psalms of more than one type are represented (xv).

For the justification of what has been said, Gunkel's *Introduction* and his *Commentary* must be consulted.

VI. THE PSALMS AS LITURGICAL DOCUMENTS

The Psalter is sometimes spoken of as the hymn-book of the second Temple; this is a misleading title, for there can be little doubt that a large number of the psalms cannot be described as liturgical documents, *i.e.* they were not used in the public worship of the Temple, nor were they ever intended to be. It is certain that the worship of the early synagogue was based on the Temple Liturgy,² and if we are to be guided, as we justifiably may be, by early synagogal usage, it may be concluded that not more than about half of the psalms in the Psalter were used in public worship, or can be described as liturgical documents.³ Apart from musical directions and the like in the titles, it is very rarely that the liturgical character of a psalm is indicated in a title (Ps. xxx is "for the Dedication of the House," and Ps. xcii is a "Song for the Sabbath Day"), and even in those psalms which are demonstrably liturgical it is not always immedi-

¹ See above, p. 152 n.¹, 154.

² See, *e.g.*, Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 2 (1892); Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 29 and *passim* (1913).

³ About seventy of the psalms are used in the modern synagogue, but the number in use is now larger than was originally the case, see the present writer's *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*, pp. 73 ff. (1925).

ately apparent from their content that they should be so described.

In order to discern which psalms are to be designated as liturgical documents two lines of investigation must be followed: indications in the individual psalms themselves, and the evidence to be derived from early post-biblical Jewish literature, above all from the Mishnah and the tractate *Sopherim*.¹ To indicate all those psalms which bear marks of their liturgical character, and to adduce the evidence afforded by the Jewish literature mentioned, would obviously be quite out of the question here; but a few illustrations may be offered:

Thus, the liturgical character of Ps. lxxxix is shown in verse 3 (4): "Blow the shophar (ram's horn) at the new moon, at the full moon on the day of our feast." As the feast is mentioned without further designation it is the feast of Tabernacles which is meant, *the feast par excellence* (cp. i Kgs. viii. 2; Ezek. xlv. 25; ii Chron. vii. 8); this was celebrated at the full moon of the seventh month, which was New Year's Day; on the first day of this month, *i.e.* the new moon, the *shophar* was blown (Num. x. 10, xxix. 1), so that, according to this psalm the two weeks preceding New Year's Day were observed as a kind of preparation for the great feast.² This psalm was thus one of the special ones sung at the feast of Tabernacles; and this is further borne out by the evidence of later Jewish literature; for the Targum to this psalm speaks of the "new moon" here mentioned as that of the month Tishri, *i.e.* the seventh month, in which New Year's Day occurred, and refers to Num. xxix. 1; and the Talmud also states that it was sung on this day.³

Another interesting illustration is Ps. xlvii; its liturgical character is seen by the reiterated call to praise God; but at first sight there does not seem to be any indication as to the occasion on which it was sung; indeed, this was not

¹ One of the smaller treatises of the Talmud, which contains, however, much early valuable material, see Müller's edition (1878).

² Cp. Ezra iii. 6: "From the first day of the seventh month began they to offer burnt offerings. . . ."

³ *Rosh hashshana* 30b, referred to by Elbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

realized until within recent years, but, as has been shown by Mowinckel, Gunkel, and others, the occasion is indicated clearly enough in verses 5-8 (Hebr. 6-9): "God is gone up with a shout, Yahweh with the sound of the shophar. . . . For God is the king of all the earth, sing ye praises with understanding; God reigneth over the nations, God sitteth upon His holy throne;" *i.e.* it is a psalm commemorating the enthronement of Yahweh, sung on New Year's Day, which, as just pointed out, was the first day of the feast of Tabernacles.¹ In accordance with this the tractate *Sopherim* (xix. 2) records that Ps. xlvii was one of the special psalms for this feast.

One other illustration, of a number, may be given. The liturgical character of Ps. cxxxv is very clearly indicated in the first three verses, and in this case the occasion on which the psalm was sung is not difficult to discern; verse 4 tells of the election of Israel, verse 5 of Yahweh's power, verse 6 of the fulfilment of His will, and verse 7 of His lordship over Nature; then in verses 8, 9 reference is made to what happened to the Egyptians at the Exodus. All these points immediately suggest what happened at the beginning of the history of the nation; and thus, as a special psalm for the Passover feast, nothing could be more appropriate. The psalm is certainly not one of the early ones, and in all probability additions have been made to it; but that it was originally composed for Passover hardly admits of doubt; and in any case we have the evidence of *Sopherim* xviii. 2, where it is said that this was the morning psalm sung at this feast.

These are but a very few examples of the psalms as liturgical documents; in many cases, as we have said, their liturgical character is not immediately discernible, in others it is fairly obvious; but without the evidence afforded by post-biblical literature it would sometimes be difficult to indicate the occasion on which a psalm was sung. On the other hand, it must be repeated that many of the psalms, probably the majority, were not originally liturgical; this does not mean to say that they were not said in the Temple;

¹ See, further, *Myth and Ritual*, ed. S. H. Hooke, pp. 122 ff. (1933).

they were said by individuals in the Temple for a variety of purposes; and, possibly, they were said privately during divine service; but they must not, on that account, be regarded as liturgical documents; for these partake of an official character, and it is one of the glories of the psalms that they are, in the main, human documents, that is, they express the thoughts, the aspirations, the joys, the sorrows, the hope, the faith, of the individual heart; as such, we must welcome, rather than be surprised at, the fact that most of the psalms are non-liturgical.

VII. THE PSALMS PART OF A WORLD-LITERATURE

While it is but right and fitting that the *Psalms* should be treated primarily as the product of Hebrew religious thought, it must be recognized that the Psalter was part of a World-literature. The Hebrews were in some notable respects unique, but they lived in contact with other peoples, and were not uninfluenced by the world of their surroundings. How far the Hebrews were affected in the composition of their psalms-literature by external influences it would be difficult to say; but in this and other respects they exhibited an individuality which witnesses to a striking independence, even though they may, to some extent, be indebted to others for thought and literary structure.

As is natural enough, two opposing views are held regarding this matter; it is maintained, on the one hand, that the Hebrew psalmists were largely indebted to Babylonia and Egypt, and, on the other, that no external influence is to be discerned in the *Psalms*.

Sacred poetry is a means of expressing the relationship between man and the Deity—the nature of the Deity may, for the moment, be left aside; the belief in this relationship was common to the Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, and others, as well as to the Hebrews; all alike felt impelled to approach their deities with petitions for wants, with the thanksgiving for petitions granted, with prayers for help in time of need, and for averting evil, with the offering of propitiatory gifts, and also for the purpose of honouring

them with praise. With such a background common to all there would seem to be no reason for postulating any borrowing of one from the other; the initial impulse was universal.¹

On the other hand, while each individual race would, according to its own genius, in course of time build up its own literature of sacred lyric, contact between the peoples would bring to each some knowledge of their respective literatures; in such circumstances influence of some kind, conscious or unconscious, could hardly fail to exercise itself. And when, as in the case of Babylonia and Egypt, their literatures were much older than that of the Hebrews, it is within the bounds of probability that, in some respects, the early Hebrew psalmists would have been indebted to the more ancient compositions. We have, moreover, the analogy of Babylonian sacred legends and of the Egyptian and Babylonian Wisdom literature to go upon.²

These are factors which should be taken into consideration in this connexion. Without going into further detail here, it may be said that the conclusion to which a comparison of Babylonian and Egyptian hymns with the Hebrew psalms leads, is that both in thought and expression Hebrew psalmody is often indebted to a Babylonian or an Egyptian prototype, but that, owing to the religious genius of the Hebrews being of a vastly higher order than that of any other people of antiquity, the psalms are in their real essence independent of external influences.

Some illustrative comparisons would have been instructive, but space does not permit of this; we must content ourselves with a reference to the following works:—for Babylonian hymns and prayers: Zimmern, *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete* (1905); Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, vol. i. pp. 393–552 (1905), vol. ii. pp. 1–137 (1912); Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (1909); Stammer, *Sumerisch-akkadische Parallelen zum Aufbau alttestamentlicher Psalmen* (1922); for Egyptian psalms and the like, Erman,

¹ See, on the other hand, Birkeland, *Ani und Anaw in den Psalmen* (1933), and *Die Feinde des Individuums in der israelitischen Psalmenliteratur* (1933).

² See pp. 161 ff.

Aegyptische Religion, pp. 79 ff. (1909); *Literatur der Aegypter*, pp. 183-193, 350-384 (1923). A large collection of both Egyptian and Babylonian sacred literary pieces are given in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament*, vol. ii (1926), and see, too, the interesting chapters on Babylonian and Egyptian psalms by G. R. Driver and A. M. Blackman, respectively, in *The Psalms*, edited by D. C. Simpson (1926).

VIII. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

In addition to the vicissitudes through which the texts of the books of the Old Testament in general have passed, that of the *Psalms* has undergone special redactional treatment owing to their use in the Temple worship; doubtless this applies less to the later psalms than to those which have a longer history behind them. In a few instances instructive textual variations are placed before us owing to the existence of a double form of certain psalms, and we are able to see how texts differed; by comparing Ps. xviii with ii Sam. xxii; Ps. xiv with Ps. liii; Ps. lxx with Ps. xl. 13-17; Ps. cviii with Pss. lvii. 8-12 and lx. 7-14, it will be realized that the text must have been at one time in a fluid state, with the consequent inevitability for corruptions in the text to arise. When the Hebrew text is closely examined it is found that corruptions are very numerous; sometimes these are deep-seated, so much so that in a certain number of passages it is difficult to extract adequate sense from the present form of the text (*e.g.* xxii. 16 (17); lxxxvii. 7; lxxxix. 48); in other cases (which are more frequent) there are minor corruptions which are easily emended by the sense of the passage. That the text has come down in a somewhat unsatisfactory condition is only to be expected when the circumstances are borne in mind; Briggs has well expressed these when he says that the "Psalms passed through the hands of a multitude of copyists, and of many editors who made changes of various kinds, partly intentional and partly unintentional. The Psalms were changed and adapted for public worship, just as has ever been the case with hymns,

prayers, and other liturgical forms. The personal, local, and historical features were gradually effaced, and additions of various kinds were made to make them more appropriate for congregational use."¹

The Septuagint² is of great value for the reconstruction of corrupt passages in the Massoretic text, but special caution is called for in the case of the *Psalms*, because the many instances of fantastic renderings show that the translator could by no means always be relied upon for his knowledge of Hebrew.³ Not only so, but there are many cases in which Hebrew letters were misread; this has resulted in some very curious renderings being offered in the Septuagint; these are sometimes meaningless, but that does not seem to have troubled the translator. It is evident that the Hebrew text from which the Septuagint was translated differed greatly from the Massoretic text, but the condition of that early text was very variable; in a great many cases it was manifestly superior to that of our present Hebrew text, but in very many others it was certainly worse. Thus, while the Septuagint is quite indispensable for the study of the *Psalms*, great care must be exercised in weighing its evidence.

The numeration of the Psalms in the Septuagint is for the most part different from that of the Hebrew; "this is due to certain consecutive Psalms in the Hebrew Psalter being counted as one in the Greek (ix and x in Hebr. = ix in the Sept.; cxiv and cxv in Hebr. = cxiii in the Sept.), and certain of the Hebrew psalms being, *vice versa*, divided in the Greek into two (cxvi in Hebr. = cxiv and cxv in the Sept.; cxlvii in Hebr. = cxlvi and cxlvii in the Sept.)."⁴ The Septuagint has a psalm, cli, which is clearly based on i Kgs. xvi. 7, 11, 26, 43, 51; ii Kgs. vi. 5; ii Chron. xxix. 26; Ps. lxxviii. 70, lxxxix. 20. "Its resemblance to the Septuagint of those passages is not so close as to suggest a Greek original,

¹ *Op cit.*, pp. xxxiii ff.

² Of special value for the study of the Septuagint version of the Psalms is Rahlfs's *Septuaginta-Studien*, 2. Heft, "Der Text des Septuaginta-Psaltern" (1907).

³ Cp. Swete's words: "... The Psalms, and more especially the Book of Isaiah, show obvious signs of incompetence" (*op. cit.*, p. 315); a well-known example is xxix. 1.

⁴ Swete, *op. cit.*, pp. 239 f.

but, on the other hand, there is no evidence that it ever existed in Hebrew.”¹ These last words are particularly interesting, for in recent years a Syriac version of this psalm has been discovered, together with four others; there is strong evidence for regarding these last four as having been translated from a Hebrew original; not so, however, with the Septuagint cli psalm, which contains nothing pointing to a Hebrew original, but which seems certainly to have been composed originally in Greek.²

¹ Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

² These psalms are printed in Syriac with a German translation and notes by Noth, in the *ZATW* for 1930, pp. 1-23.

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS

I. TITLE OF THE BOOK

As distinct from the titles in the body of the book (see below), the title of the book as a whole is *Mishle*, which is an abbreviation of the opening sentence: "The Proverbs of (*Mishle*) Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel."¹ The Septuagint has the title *Paroimioi*, "Comparisons," similarly taken from the opening word of the book.

II. AUTHORSHIP

Solomon is designated as the author in x. 1 as well as in i. 1. The tradition about his wisdom was doubtless due to three passages; in i Kgs. iv. 31-33 (Hebr. v. 11-14) it is said: "And Yahweh gave Solomon wisdom"; in i Kgs. iv. 31-34 (Hebr. v. 11-14) Solomon is said to have been "wiser than all men . . . and he spake three thousand proverbs. . . . And there came all peoples to hear the wisdom of Solomon, from all kings of the earth, which had heard of his wisdom"; and in i Kgs. iii. 16-28, where the story, borrowed in all probability from an Indian source, is told of Solomon's decision as to which of the two women was the mother of the child (cp. also i Kgs. iii. 9 ff, x. 1 ff.). There was, thus, sufficient traditional material to justify the belief that Solomon wrote the book of *Proverbs*. But so far as the evidence of the book itself is concerned, while it records the tradition, its ascriptions of authorship vary; of the ten collections it contains (see next section), three have no ascription; of the other seven, two are ascribed to Solomon, one mentions his name in the title, while the remaining four are definitely ascribed to other authors; thus, following the chronological order of the collections (see next section), we have these ascriptions of authorship:

¹ On the meaning of the word *mashal* "proverbs," see above, p. 151.

x. 1-xxii. 16 is ascribed to Solomon; the title at the head of the whole book was probably taken from here. This collection contains 375 proverbs; the numerical value of the Hebrew letters which make up the name of Solomon is also 375; in all probability some scribe brought up the number of proverbs to correspond with the numerical value of "Solomon" (in Hebrew *Shelomo*); such devices, in one form or another, occur elsewhere in the Old Testament, and are the mark of late times; so that in the present instance the device would tell against Solomonian authorship.

xxv-xxix has the title: "These are also proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah, king of Judah, copied out." On this Toy pointedly remarks that "the verb has this sense only here in the Old Testament; elsewhere (Gen. xii. 8, Job ix. 5, xxi. 7, etc.) it means 'remove' (in space or in time), and its signification here ('transcribe' = 'remove from one book to another') belongs to the late literary vocabulary. This superscription . . . only bears testimony to the disposition, in later times, to ascribe all wise sayings to Solomon, and a special suggestion of Solomonian authorship may have been found in the mention of kings with which the collection opens."¹

xxii. 17-xxiii. 14 has no title as the Hebrew text now stands; but originally there was a title; it has inadvertently been put into the text instead of being kept separate; the Septuagint has preserved the title, which no doubt at one time stood in its proper place in the Hebrew form: "Sayings of the Wise."

xxiii. 15-xxiv. 22 has no title.

xxiv. 23-34 has the title: "These also (belong) to the Wise men."

xxx. 1-14 has the title: "The words of Agur the son of Jakeh; the oracle."

xxx. 15-33 has no title.

xxxi. 1-9 has the title: "The words of king Lemuel; the oracle which his mother taught him."

i. 7-ix. 18 has the title: "The Proverbs of Solomon the son of David, king of Israel." This, with the last-mentioned

¹ *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*, p. 457 (1914).

collection (xxx. 1-9), is the latest portion of the book, the title is therefore valueless as an indication of Solomonic authorship (see next section).

xxx. 10-31 has no title.

It will thus be seen that the evidence of the book itself is against Solomonic authorship. It may, however, be asked whether, in view of the acknowledged antiquity of proverbial utterances and of the existence of the tradition of Solomon's wisdom, some elements may not have been preserved which trace their origin to him? In reply to which it must be granted that the possibility of this cannot be wholly excluded; a Hebrew tradition usually has some basis in fact; besides, Solomon's relations with the Egyptian royal house (i Kgs. iii. 1) may well have brought him into contact with some Egyptian sages from whom he might have heard wise sayings; the Wisdom literature of Egypt goes back far into the third millennium B.C.¹ But while granting this possibility it is certain that the great mass of the collection in question is much later than the time of Solomon, and, indeed, that a large number of the sayings are post-exilic.

III. THE COLLECTIONS AND THEIR DATES

Reference has been made to the various collections contained in the book of *Proverbs*; some more detailed account of these is called for.

It has been pointed out above ² that, in common with many another people of antiquity, the Hebrews had numerous sayings which were current in oral form—sayings of a popular character which expressed truths gained from the experience of life. The existence of such popular sayings invites, sooner or later, the collection of them; and in course of time collections of this kind would tend to increase. The formation of such collections would obviously be undertaken by the *Hakamim*, the Sages, or Wise Men; and in the natural order of things the Sage, in gathering together current proverbial sayings, would increase their number by adding

¹ Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter*, pp. 86-121, 294-302 (1923).

² See pp. 150 f.

words of his own. Thus, collections of proverbs were made at different times by Sages, and in the book of *Proverbs* we have the final gathering together of a number of these collections. That some of these collections, apart from the additions of later scribes, belonged to pre-exilic times is suggested both by the existence of popular sayings long current, and also because, as we have seen, the *Hakamim* formed a recognized order already in the times of Isaiah and Jeremiah. There are, further, two other considerations which tend to confirm the belief that collections of proverbs, in written form, were in existence before the Exile. As has been pointed out above,¹ the earliest form of the Hebrew proverb was a single-line saying, originally oral, but existing in this form even after having been reduced to writing; in course of time, no doubt, a line was added in many cases and a couplet was formed, but this still left the first line self-contained in its original form. Now in two of the collections in our book (x. 1-xxii. 16 and xxv-xxix) there are a number of couplets in which the first line is self-contained, showing the probability of its having originally stood alone; one or two examples may be given: in x. 15a and xviii 11a there is the proverb, "The rich man's wealth is his strong city," meaning that the rich man relies on his wealth; this is a self-contained saying. The context differs in the two passages, showing that originally the saying stood alone. Two single-line proverbs occur in xi. 29, they are now joined by "and," but are quite independent of each other. In xii. 11a and xxviii. 19a there is the proverb: "He that tilleth his land shall have plenty of bread," which is again a self-contained saying; in this case the added line in each passage is similar, though not identical. In xiv. 5b it is said: "A false witness uttereth lies,"² and the same proverb is copied in vi. 19a; here the context in the two passages is quite different, showing again that the saying had been current independently of any context. Many similar instances could be given (*e.g.* xiii. 12, 14, 15, 19;

¹ Pp. 150 f.

² The different marginal renderings of the R.V. represent the same word in Hebrew.

xiv. 4; xv. 3, 26, 33; xix. 23; xx. 2; xxi. 12, 29; xxii. 8, 10; xxv. 27; xxvii. 2; xxviii. 16, 19; and xv. 21; xix. 27. xxi. 24 are single-line proverbs without an added context); the presence of these, while not necessarily proving a pre-exilic date for the two collections in question, offers an argument in that direction. More decisive are the frequent references to the king, implying the existence of the monarchy. It is recognized that the mention of the king can quite conceivably be in reference to a Gentile monarch, *e.g.* in viii. 15; xxx. 22, 27; xxxi. 4 belonging to later collections; but the way in which the king is spoken of in these two collections makes it very difficult to believe that the writer had a Gentile ruler in mind; how could a Jew speak of a Gentile king as one who utters a divine oracle (xvi. 10), or as one whose heart is in the hand of Yahweh (xxi. 1), or as one who is the friend of Yahweh (xxii. 11), or as one whose throne will be established for ever (xxix. 14)? And there are many other passages in which the king is spoken of in such a way as to make it morally certain that the writer had an Israelite king in mind. A great deal in these two collections, then (x. 1–xxii. 16 and xxv–xxix), must be assigned to a period before the downfall of the monarchy, though considerable portions were undoubtedly added by later sages.

Of pre-exilic date is also the collection contained in xxii. 17–xxiii. 14. This is very largely based on the Egyptian Wisdom-book called the "Teaching of Amen-em-ope";¹ the best expert opinion assigns this to the eighth or seventh century B.C., some authorities place it earlier. The fact of it being pre-exilic does not necessarily prove that the Jewish collection based on it is also pre-exilic; but there are various sayings in this collection which may well belong to some period before the Exile (xxii. 28–xxiii. 10, 11), and it is joined on to two other small collections (xxiii. 15–xxiv. 22 and xxiv. 23–34) which in part are certainly pre-exilic, see especially xxiv. 21. Thus, these three collections in their original form may be assigned to the seventh century.

¹ For details, see Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs*, pp. xlvi–l (1929), and *The Wisdom of Egypt and the Old Testament* (1927); for the most recent discussion see Möller, "Kritische Beiträge zur angeblichen Abhängigkeit der Sprüche Salomos xxii. 17–xxiv. 22 von der ägyptischen Lehre des Amen-em-ope," in *Nach dem Gesetz und Zeugnis*, pp. 304 ff. (1932).

Of the four small collections contained in xxx and xxxi, three (xxx. 1-14, xxx. 15-33 and xxxi. 1-9) do not offer any decisive indications as to date; most commentators regard them as post-exilic; the style of the fourth (xxxi. 10-31) suggests a late post-exilic date.

In the first collection in the book, as we now have it (i-ix), there is much to show that it belongs to a time long after the Exile; quite decisive, apart from other indications, is the developed conception of Wisdom (see *e.g.* i. 20-33, ii, iii. 11-20, vii. 4, and above all viii); it belongs, in all probability, to the third century B.C., though it is likely enough that some earlier elements have been incorporated.

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

It is interesting to note that the Hebrew text of what is certainly the oldest part of our book (the collection contained in x-xxii. 16) is in a more corrupt state than any other part of the book; it looks as though the longer history of transmission here were responsible for the less satisfactory state of the text. This collection has many passages in which the textual corruption is serious; in an appreciable number of instances emendation seems almost hopeless, while corruptions of a minor character are very numerous. Chs. xiv and xvi have suffered in a special degree. In the collection xxv-xxix the text is in a somewhat better state, though here, too, in a few cases, *e.g.* xxvi. 9, xxvii. 9, emendation seems almost hopeless, so deep-seated is the corruption; the text of xxviii is in a worse state than any other chapter in this collection. In chs. xxii. 17-xxiv. 34 the text is again less corrupt, though in a number of minor cases emendation is necessary. In the first collection (i-ix) the corruptions are far less, and even where they occur they are not important. The last two chapters are remarkably free from corruption, apart from the title at the head of each chapter.

In a great number of cases the Septuagint is invaluable for emending the Hebrew text; at the same time, since the text of the Septuagint itself is often in a bad state, much caution is called for in making use of it; but not infrequently, even where the Septuagint text is faulty, it gives a cue to

what the underlying Hebrew text read, and thus helps to emend the Massoretic text.¹ Again and again omissions or additions of words in the Septuagint are seen to represent a purer Hebrew text. There can be no doubt that so far as x-xxii. 16 is concerned many verses in the Greek text presuppose a better Hebrew form than that of the Massoretic text.

Apart from what has been said, the Septuagint contains a certain amount of material which is wanting in the Hebrew; some of this has evidently been translated from a Hebrew original, and may have been taken from some collection now lost (*e.g.* the couplets after ix. 12); other parts do not read like a translation from Hebrew, these may well be insertions from collections written in Greek.

Paraphrases occur not infrequently in the Septuagint (*e.g.* x. 18, xi. 31); this is probably due either to the corrupt state of the Hebrew original, or to the fact that the Greek translator did not understand the Hebrew, for this is often ambiguous. There are also cases in which the order of passages in the Septuagint differs from that of our present Hebrew text, *e.g.* xv. 28-xvi. 9, and the relative positions of the four collections in xxx, xxxi; but these differences occur mostly from xxiv. 23 onwards. This clearly indicates that the various collections, as we should expect, originally circulated separately.

¹ Much help in studying the text will be found in Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Salomonischen Spruchbuches* (1931).

ECCLESIASTES

I. TITLE

IN the Hebrew Bible the title of this book is *Koheleth*, usually translated "Preacher"; the word is feminine in form because, in Hebrew, titles and designations of office are usually indicated by the feminine *form*, "notwithstanding their occasional transference to masculine persons." The word is, therefore, to be understood in the sense of one who "takes part in, or speaks in a religious assembly," hence the Septuagint: *Ἐκκλησιαστής*, i.e. *concinator*, "preacher."¹ It is from the Septuagint, through the Vulgate, that the title *Ecclesiastes* in the English Bible is derived.

II. AUTHORSHIP

In the opening verse of the book, "The words of the Preacher, the son of David, king in Jerusalem," the claim is made that Solomon was the author; but that the book cannot have been written by Solomon is quite certain for the following reasons:

(a) The entire subject-matter and the way in which it is dealt with is inconceivable in the tenth century B.C.; this will become sufficiently clear when the character and contents of the book are considered.

(b) The language in which the book is written is late and inelegant Hebrew, very different from the classical Hebrew of pre-exilic days. "The Hebrew language, which had been pure enough for some time after the return from Babylon, began to decay from the time of Nehemiah. The memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, and (in a less degree) the writing of Malachi, show signs of the change, which is still more palpable in the *Chronicles*, *Esther*, and *Ecclesiastes*."² The

¹ Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 122 q.v.

² McNeile, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes, with Notes and Appendices*, p. 33 (1904).

Hebrew is often reminiscent of that of the Mishnah; there are also many Aramaic words.¹

(c) On occasion, the author writes not as a king, but as a subject, see iii. 16; iv. 1.

These reasons are sufficiently convincing; there are others, of less importance, which also show that Solomonic authorship is impossible; but it will not be necessary to go into these.

Apart from a few obvious interpolations (*e.g.* iii. 15, vii. 18; ix. 9b, xii. 1a and xii. 9-14, which forms an appendix), unity of authorship is postulated by the majority of scholars.² There is, however, one strong objection to be urged against this view, namely, the contradictory points of mental outlook, and assertions incompatible with one another, which occur fairly frequently. Some of these demand a little attention. In ii. 24, *e.g.*, it is said: "There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink and make his soul enjoy good in his labour"; of an entirely contradictory nature are the words of vii. 2: "It is better to go to a house of mourning than to go to the house of feasting." In ix. 2 the writer declares that "all things come alike to all; there is one event to the righteous and to the wicked . . ."; but in viii. 12, 13 quite a different view is put forth: "Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and prolong his days, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God; which fear before him; but it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow; because he feareth not before God." Again, in iv. 2 it is said: "Wherefore I praise the dead which are already dead more than the living which are yet alive"; but in ix. 4 a very different view is presented: "For to him that is joined with all the living there is hope; for a living dog is better than a dead lion. For the living know that they shall die; but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten." And to give but one other example: in i. 13 the writer says:

¹ See, for example, Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 249 (1896).

² *E.g.* Ginsburg, Nowack, Cornill, Wildeboer, and, more recently, Odeberg, *Qphaeeth: a Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes* (1930).

"I applied my heart to search out by wisdom all that is done under heaven; it is a sore travail that God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised therewith"; but in ii. 13 it is said: "Then I saw that wisdom excelleth folly, as far as light excelleth darkness."

These mutually exclusive utterances are difficult to account for on the hypothesis of unity of authorship. To explain them by saying that they reflect the varying moods of the author might be sufficient explanation if it were a question of spoken words; but for one and the same man to write down in cold blood, as it were, things which are so entirely contradictory is repugnant to common-sense. There is much force, therefore, in McFadyen's contention that what appear as contradictions are in reality protests inserted in the text, not by the author, but by some others to whom much that was asserted was thoroughly distasteful; "doubtless these protests," he says, "could come from the preacher's own soul; but, considering all the phenomena, it is more natural to suppose that they were the protests of others who were offended by the scepticism and pessimism of the book, which may well have had a widespread circulation."¹

Another line of argument against unity of authorship, and perhaps even more convincing, has been put forth by McNeile.² He points to the probability that the book would naturally have created a great stir, since much that was written in it was not in accordance with orthodox Jewish teaching; but instead of being suppressed as heretical, one of the wise men of the time sought to "improve" it and enrich it "by the addition of *meshalim*—more or less isolated apophthegms bearing on life and nature—perhaps culled from various sources. Some of these seem to be suggested by Koheleth's words, and correct or enlarge upon his remarks, but many are thrown in at random with no kind of relevance. In every case their frigid, didactic style is in strong contrast to the heat and sting of Koheleth's complaints." McNeile then gives a list of these insertions; in some cases his argument is stronger than in others.³ But

¹ *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 347 (1932).

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff. ³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 22 f.

this was only the first step; something more was needed than the addition of maxims of worldly wisdom if the book was to be safely used by the orthodox; "it must be made to give explicit statements which should fall into line with the accepted tenets of religion." This was done, according to McNeile's theory, by one of the *Hasidim*, one of the "pious ones" often spoken of in some of the later Psalms, and mentioned in i Macc. ii. 42; he gave a religious impress to the book which was so sadly lacking by adding sentences which centre round two chief thoughts: (1) the paramount duty of fearing and pleasing God, and (2) the certainty of God's judgement on those who do not fear and please Him. "The portions which appear to be due to him are seldom complete in themselves; they are tacked on to Koheleth's remarks, sometimes separating classes that were clearly intended to be joined. In every case but one (v. 1-7, Hebr. iv. 17-v. 6) they are in direct opposition to Koheleth's spirit, if not to his actual words."¹ Some of the instances of the list of these additions are the same as the passage quoted above.

McNeile's twofold argument against unity of authorship is decidedly convincing.

III. THE CHARACTER AND TEACHING OF THE BOOK

The main theme of the book is the vanity, emptiness, and worthlessness of human life. A pessimistic outlook frequently finds expression, but it must be recognized, as Odeberg protests, that this is in large measure due to the aim of the book; it is intended to teach men to lead a better life, for which purpose the writer sets in vivid contrast to this the worldly life of every day, which is very hollow and foolish. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the book does present a somewhat dismal outlook; it opens with a note of hopelessness: "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity" (i. 2), and closes in a similar strain (xii. 8); life and labour are empty, purposeless; but inasmuch as man is placed in the world and must live his life, the only thing to do is to

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

make the best of it, to eat and drink and enjoy oneself; and he is the truly wise man who acts under every circumstance in such a way as to secure a maximum of the material good to be got out of life (ii. 24). Quite in tune with this pessimistic attitude is the theory of determinism which runs through the book; man is a helpless being, everything is fixed, and there is nothing he can do to shape or alter the events of life (vii. 13). But it is this very determinism to which is due the religious tone of the book, for all things are from God, even the power to enjoy life (vii. 14), and therefore all must be done by man with a Godward view; in spite of the many difficulties presented by the incongruities of life, there is a moral rule, for God is supreme; man may be unable to understand many things (iii. 11, vii. 24, viii. 17), but "I know that, whatsoever God doeth, it shall be for ever; nothing can be put to it, nor anything taken from it; and God hath done it, that men should fear before Him" (iii. 14).

The writer's intense belief in God, which is so often expressed in the book, would assuredly have suggested a more exalted conception of the life hereafter had the thought of the time been sufficiently advanced; but when this book was written (see § V below) a doctrine of immortality had not yet been attained; hence the author says: "For of the wise man, even as of the fool, there is no remembrance for ever; seeing that in the days to come all will have been already forgotten" (ii. 16); and more pointedly in ix. 5: "... the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten"; and in ix. 10: "... for there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in She'ol, whither thou goest," cp. ix. 6. In one passage, it is true, a speculation is expressed which is very suggestive: "Who knoweth (with regard to) the spirit of the sons of men whether it goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast whether it goeth downward to the earth?" (iii. 21); but beyond that the writer could not penetrate; it is clear from the whole of his book that his ideas of the Hereafter coincided with the traditional She'ol belief.

IV. THE INFLUENCE OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY

That the language of our book shows any traces of Græcisms is very improbable; McNeile has carefully examined all the instances in which, according to the opinion of Siegfried, Wildeboer, and others, Greek idioms and expressions are reflected; ¹ his conclusion, with which many other scholars agree, is that "though Koheleth has a few expressions which *might* have resulted from the prevailing Greek atmosphere of his time, there are none that *demand* this explanation; and several of the instances offered can be traced to the Greek language only by violence."

The position is somewhat different regarding Greek thought; but here again there is much divergence of opinion. In such passages, *e.g.*, as i. 4 ff.; iii. 1-8, 22; vii. 16, 17; viii. 15; ix. 3, 7; x. 19; it may well be that the influence of Greek philosophy is to be discerned; on the other hand, the thoughts expressed may be nothing more than the reflection of the general mental atmosphere among cultured Jews generated by the Greek spirit, but not necessarily implying any direct knowledge of Greek philosophy. The subject is too large to be gone into here; it has been treated with much knowledge and discernment by Ranston,² who holds that "the evidence strongly suggests that Ecclesiastes was not widely or deeply acquainted with the early Greek *literature*, *i.e.* he had not *read* much of it. Had his reading knowledge been greater, signs of it would have been more clearly apparent. . . . The conclusion reached is that Koheleth, in his search for suitable proverbs (xii. 9 f.), moved for a time in circles where the minds of the people were stored with the wisdom-utterances of the early sages mentioned by Isocrates as the outstanding teachers of practical morality, Theognis being the most important."³

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.

² *Ecclesiastes and the Early Greek Wisdom Literature* (1925).

³ Pp. 149 f.

V. DATE

From what has been said there can be little doubt as to the approximate date of our book. The Hebrew marks it as one of the latest books of the Old Testament; its paucity of ideas shows that the religious spirit, so characteristic of the writers in Israel, had practically exhausted itself; and the influence of Greek culture, however superficial, suggests, at any rate, that it was written after the beginning of the Greek period; hence *circa* 300 B.C. is the earliest possible date, but half a century later is more probable; the Maccabæan period, advocated by some scholars, seems unlikely.¹

VI. CANONICITY

Considering the religious standpoint of *Ecclesiastes* it is small wonder that it was the last of the Old Testament books to be received into the Hebrew Canon. An echo of the controversy which raged in regard to it among the followers of Hillel and Shammai is contained in the *Mishnah* tractate *Yadaim* iii. 5, where it appears that the house of Hillel declared that *Koheleth* "defiled the hands,"² *i.e.* was canonical, but that the house of Shammai disputed this. The date of this was about A.D. 100-120. In the end the Hillelites won the day; not so much, however, on the ground that the contents of the book made it fitting that it should be regarded as canonical, but simply because for many years it had been tacitly accepted as Scripture. That it should ever have appealed to Jews is a matter of surprise, and we entirely agree with Margoliouth when he maintains that "without the idea that *Koheleth* was Solomon one could scarcely imagine the work ever having been included in the Canon."³

¹ The fact that it was known to Ben-Sira (*Ecclesiasticus*), written about 180 B.C., makes a Maccabæan date impossible.

² See above, p. 4.

³ *Jewish Encycl.*, v. 34 a.

VII. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

Taken as a whole, the Hebrew text, which is more or less rhythmical, has been handed down in a fairly good condition; there are not many serious corrupt passages—among such are ii. 12b; iii. 11; iv. 1, 17; v. 17; on the other hand, there are very many instances of the addition of isolated words, presumably inserted with the object of making the meaning clearer, though that object is by no means always achieved; frequently, too, words have dropped out of the text, due doubtless to careless copying. The Septuagint is of but small value in the case of *Ecclesiastes*; here and there (*e.g.* iii. 19, ix. 1, 2, 4) it is helpful; but as a rule it does not throw much light on corrupt passages.

From the point of view of the study of the Greek text *Ecclesiastes* is of considerable interest, for it “savours of the school of Aquila.”¹ The subject is somewhat intricate; it has been dealt with by McNeile very thoroughly; ² he shows that an old Septuagint version was superseded by Aquila’s version, and that, later, Aquila revised his translation himself; thus there were at one time three forms of the Greek text extant.

¹ McNeile, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 115–134.

THE SONG OF SOLOMON

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

THE *Song of Solomon* (the Hebrew title is "*Song of Songs*") was one of the last books to find a secure position in the Jewish Canon. Its secular nature made it difficult for Jewish scholars to accept it; but the tradition which ascribed it to Solomon and its undoubted beauty made men anxious to include it, if possible, and the problem was ultimately solved by treating it metaphorically, as a picture of the love existing between Yahweh and the ideal Israel. The headings in the English Authorized Version suggest a parallel interpretation in the Christian Church.

In the Hebrew Bible the *Song* is placed first of the "Five Rolls,"¹ and so immediately follows *Job* and precedes *Ruth*. In the Greek versions it appears immediately after *Ecclesiastes* and before *Job*, being the fourth of the poetical books. A similar position is assigned to it in the Vulgate, though the fact that *Job* is placed before the Psalter makes it the fifth of these books. In the *Peshitta* it stands immediately after *Ruth* and before *Esther*. These variations are partly due to the general arrangement of the Bible in the various versions, and partly to the uncertainty as to its authorship and canonicity.

II. CONTENTS

The *Song of Solomon* consists of a series of erotic lyrics, most of which are incomplete, and some are mere fragments. Sometimes a man speaks to a maiden (i. 9-11, 15-17, iv. 1-7, vi. 4-9, vii. 1-9, viii. 13), sometimes a maiden addresses her lover (i. 2-4, 7-8, 12-14, 15-17, vii. 10-viii. 4, viii. 14 [= ii. 7]). At other times we have a maiden addressing a company, usually of other women (i. 5-6, ii. 8-14, iii. 1-5,

¹ See above, p. 5.

v. 2-8, v. 9-vi. 3, viii. 6-7); these little poems include passages which are descriptive of the lovers' experiences. We have short dialogues between them in ii. 1-7 and iv. 8-v. 1, and brief descriptions of the lover's splendour or his beloved's beauty in iii. 6-11, vi. 10, 11-12. In vi. 13 it is the company of women who speak, while in viii. 8-10 and 11-12 we have two little lyrics; in the first some brothers describe their care of their sister, and in the second we have the parable of Solomon's vineyard.

III. STRUCTURE AND INTERPRETATION

As so often in collections of different pieces, the poems in the *Song of Solomon* tend to be shorter and more fragmentary towards the end of the book. This makes it improbable that they were arranged on any definite plan; but many commentators have, nevertheless, sought to discover a systematic structure in the book. Two types of theory may be mentioned:

(a) *Dramatic*. It has been maintained that the book is a drama. Two forms have been suggested; in the one Solomon sees a rustic maiden, is captivated by her beauty, takes her into the royal harem, and wins her love. In the other form a third character is introduced, a shepherd to whom the girl has given her heart. As in the other form, Solomon takes her into his harem, but fails to win her, and in the end she returns to her rustic lover.¹ This theory has obvious disadvantages. Apart from the possibility of dramatic scenes in connexion with some forms of ritual, we have no reason to believe that there was any kind of drama in ancient Israel; there is not the slightest hint of it either in the rest of the Old Testament literature or in any outside writer. There are no stage directions of any kind, and these must be left to the imagination of the reader; even the differences between the speakers are clear only from the grammatical forms used.

(b) *The marriage ceremony*. It has been suggested that marriage customs in ancient Israel were similar to those

¹ The two schemes are described at length in Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-416.

which now prevail among the peasantry of northern Syria. There the bride and bridegroom are enthroned for a week as queen and king, and, on the threshing-sledge which is their throne, they receive the adoration of their village, sometimes themselves taking part in the proceedings.¹ Attempts have been made ² to reconstruct the ceremonies of the week, but they are hardly convincing.

A recent study of the book by T. H. Meek³ has resulted in the suggestion that the songs are derived from hymns used in the cult of Ishtar, transplanted to Palestine in the worship of Astarte. Meek cites many parallel expressions, but, though the list is impressive and suggestive, it hardly amounts to proof, and the improbability of such songs being preserved in Israel militates against the theory.

We can say with confidence only that we have here a collection of erotic lyrics which, in their extraordinary beauty and freshness, are hardly surpassed by Sappho or Burns. They may have been used in the wedding ceremonies of Palestine, and they may owe their preservation to this fact, but on that point we cannot be certain. In favour of this view, we may suggest that the name given to the woman—"Shulamite"—may have no reference (as it is commonly supposed to have) to the village of Shunem, but may simply be a feminine of Solomon. As the glorious king of Israel was the king-bridegroom, so his consort must be a "Solomoness."

IV. DATE

The date of the Songs in their present form can hardly be early. The language shows signs of lateness, many Aramaic and even some Greek words appearing in the text. The relative used is one which became common only in Rabbinic times, though there are signs which suggest that it may have been current in earlier days in the far north. But, beyond saying that they are post-exilic, it is difficult to assign any period to them with confidence.

¹ Cp. Wetstein in Dalman's *Palästinsche Diwan* (1901).

² E.g. by Haupt, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 193-245, XIX, pp. 1-32.

³ Cp. "The Song of Songs and the Fertility Cult," in *The Song of Songs, a Symposium*, pp. 48-79 (1924).

V. THE HEBREW TEXT

The MT is often obscure, and this may be owing to corruption, though it is also partly due to the very large number of unusual words, and partly to the mutilated condition to which so many of the poems were reduced before their inclusion in the collection. Help may be derived occasionally both from the Septuagint and from the Peshitta, though neither presents any unusual features. It has been suggested that the current Septuagint version is later than that of Aquila, but this view has not found general support.

THE PROPHETICAL LITERATURE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

THE prophetic books of the Old Testament present us with a phenomenon which is unique, not only in ancient times, but also in the whole range of world literature. They are to be dated almost entirely between the middle of the eighth and the middle of the fourth centuries B.C. This period of four hundred years was one of the most important in the history of human thought, and it saw the rise of several of the most significant religious movement made by man. It is enough to mention the names of Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster¹ (according to some scholars), and the Greek philosophers, from the early Ionians down to Aristotle, to illustrate the extent of the spiritual upheaval throughout the world, and the influence that this age has had upon later thinking.

These four centuries also witnessed epoch-making changes in the realm of world politics. Amos, the earliest of the canonical prophets, was probably at work in the year to which tradition ascribes the foundation of Rome. Greece had hardly attained to a national self-consciousness; Amos must have been born before the first Olympiad. The Persians were but a tribe of wild mountain shepherds, and the hegemony of civilization was contested between Mesopotamia, now represented by Assyria, and Egypt. Of these two the latter had reached her political and military zenith some seven centuries earlier, and was now drawing near to disaster and eclipse, while the former was approaching the highest point she ever reached in her career of attempted world-conquest. By the time the prophetic age closed Rome was showing signs of being the strongest power in Italy, Greece

¹ It should be remarked that Zoroaster's date is very uncertain, and there is a strong body of opinion in favour of c. 1000 B.C. Cp. E. Bevan in *CAH* iv. 207.

had passed her peak of high achievement, and was merging, politically, into the kingdom of Macedon, soon to attain world-dominion under Alexander—there may even be references to him in some of the latest prophetic utterances. Assyria and Egypt had both fallen before the brilliant Chaldaean dynasty of Babylon, and Babylon herself had given place to Persia. And even this last great empire, shaken by the disastrous European wars of the fifth century, was rapidly sinking into the decay which led to her complete overthrow and the introduction of the new Greek culture into the nearer East.

In this age of ferment in the world of politics, thought and religion, among the saints, philosophers, statesmen and warriors who shine so brightly on the pages of its history, there is no class of men whose influence has been greater or more durable than that of the prophets of Israel. They offered the world a solution of one of man's greatest problems, the correlation of religion and ethics. It might be possible to criticize both their theology and their moral standards as being imperfect, and few would deny that advance has been made in both directions since their time. Yet the fact remains that, but for them, as far as our records of humanity can teach us, the two lines of human development would have remained apart, and the gulf between them would have steadily widened.

It is not, however, with these larger aspects of the prophets' utterances that we have now to deal, but with the literary form in which their words have come down to us. It will be at once obvious that we cannot treat problems presented by these documents on the lines followed in dealing with the Law and the historical books. There we were concerned, for the most part, with compilations which were the result of the slow growth of generations, or even of centuries, and there is not a single passage (apart from one or two poetical pieces, and possibly a few of Samuel's utterances) which we can assign to an author whose name we know. Here, in the prophetic literature, we have before us the work of definite individuals; each book bears a name, and in every case but one it purports to contain *primarily* a record of the message

uttered by the man whose name it bears. It should, therefore, be the expression of a distinct personality, and the stress in the criticism of the prophets has always been laid on the attempt to determine the amount of the material which can safely be ascribed to each prophet. Too often this consideration has been allowed to obscure all others and the attempt has been made to distinguish the original (or "genuine") portions of the several documents from later accretions, without reference to the form which the work now takes. The dominant factors in forming opinions have been matters of style, general outlook and theology, all of which leave room for a broad margin of error due to subjectivity. It is only within comparatively recent years that students have sought more objective *criteria* in the study of the forms which the literature takes. Many of the older conclusions have been only the more firmly established, and the way has been prepared for still further advance in understanding the history of these books.

In our Hebrew Bibles, the prophets—or more strictly the "latter Prophets"—are comprised in four "rolls." *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* occupy one each, while the fourth consists of the work of the "Twelve," commonly called in English the "Minor Prophets." These are, in the Hebrew order,¹ *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiah*, *Jonah*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah*, *Haggai*, *Zechariah*, *Malachi*. Apparently the intention was, in the first instance, to arrange the books in chronological sequence, and, though the dates of several are doubtful or disputed, the modern critic will probably maintain that they are, for the most part, at least correctly grouped.

When we come to read the books themselves, we can hardly avoid being struck by the apparent want of logical sequence within most of them. Exceptions may be claimed, perhaps, for *Haggai* and part of *Isaiah*, but it is practically impossible to read any of the other books as a continuous whole. We are repeatedly confronted with sudden changes of subject, with marked differences in style, and it is difficult

¹ The English versions follow the Hebrew; the order in the Septuagint is slightly different, and the "Twelve" are placed before *Isaiah*.

in some cases to find anything like a serious logical arrangement. We have, rather, the impression that each is a compilation, whose separate parts have been put together either haphazard or on principles which are not always obvious to the modern reader. Sometimes a special kind of grouping is clear; several of the books, for instance, contain little collections of utterances concerning foreign nations. But, allowing for all this, the prophetic literature in the main presents us with a striking lack of continuity.

This is still more obvious when we turn to the Hebrew text. Here we notice at once that in several of the books we have both prose and poetry; nor is each type collected by itself; the two are usually interwoven, a section of prose standing between two poetic groups. Prose alone is found in *Jonah*¹ and *Haggai*, and poetry alone (except for occasional sentences) in *Joel*, *Obadiah*, *Micah*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniah* and *Malachi*; both occur (in varying proportions) in the other books, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Hosea*, *Amos* and *Zechariah*.

I. ORACULAR POETRY (A)

The impression of patchwork which we have noticed is deepened in most of the books when we study the poetic sections rather more closely. From time to time (more often in some books than in others) we have the solemn proclamation, "Thus saith the Lord," a phrase which stands naturally at the head of an independent utterance. In other places we find the phrase "saith the Lord," which is, apparently, a kind of signature, authenticating the divine origin of what immediately precedes.² This would be in place only at the end of a pronouncement of the divine message. There are occasionally poems of some length, *e.g.* the great taunt-song over the fall of a tyrant in *Isa. xiv*, and the psalms at the beginning of *Nahum* and the end of *Habakkuk*. Most of the poetry, if not all of it, in *Ezekiel* is of this kind. But usually within a poetic group the subject changes with bewildering

¹ The Psalm in ch. ii. is not to be regarded as a part of the original book.

² There is little resemblance between these two phrases in Hebrew; the second means literally "The oracle of the Lord."

speed, and we seldom find half a dozen consecutive verses with no break in the sense. Sometimes a superficial reading gives an impression of continuity, which is dissipated on closer study; a good instance is to be found in Isa. i, where verses 9 and 10 both have the names of Sodom and Gomorrah, but verse 10 naturally forms a new beginning, and the subject of what follows is quite different from that of the preceding verses. Finally, we note frequent changes in the metre;¹ to cite Isa. i again, we find that the opening verses 2-3 are in 3 : 3 (2 : 2 : 2), while that which follows is mainly 2 : 2, with an occasional 3 : 2. The conclusion from these facts is almost irresistible: we have in each poetic section of the prophetic books (apart from the few longer poems already mentioned) a collection of short utterances, which may originally have had little to do with one another, and whose juxtaposition is to be attributed, not necessarily to the prophet himself, but to a collector. This does not exclude the possibility that a prophet may have been his own collector, and have been to some extent responsible for the present form of collections, but, as we shall see later, there is usually some evidence which suggests that they assumed the shape in which we now find them at a time considerably later than that of the man whose words they enshrine.

The habits and methods of these collectors have not yet received the full study which they deserve, but some features of their work are already clear. As we look over any collection, we notice that it begins with little poems which are complete and well preserved. Further, it is comparatively seldom that the earlier passages in a collection awaken doubts as to authorship. If there is any existing utterance by Isaiah, it may safely be found in the first twenty or so verses of ch. i. No one has ever seriously doubted Jeremiah's authorship of ch. iii. 19 ff., or of ch. xx. 7 ff.; each passage stands at the head of a poetic collection. But as we get nearer to the end of a collection, we often find that the material grows much more "scrappy." Sometimes we may have individual sentences which have no relation to their context; sometimes an utterance is clearly unfinished, some-

¹ See pp. 139 ff.

times it looks as though it had lost its opening words. Indications suggesting a later age begin to appear. For example, in Isa. vi-xii we have a "collection" which opens with passages in prose, and most of the poetical pieces in chs. ix, x awaken little suspicion. On the other hand, ch. xi begins with a phrase¹ which seems to imply that the house of David has been overthrown, though not finally destroyed, and we think, not of Ahaz or Hezekiah, but of Zerubbabel. Occasionally we find the same passage occurring in slightly different forms in more than one place. The most familiar instance is the appearance of nearly identical language in Isa. ii. 2-4 and Mic. iv. 1-4. Here it is also to be noted that in *Micah* the section has an extra verse, at the end of which stands one of those formulæ which attest the divine origin of the message—"For the mouth of the Lord of Hosts hath spoken it." The conclusion is irresistible; two different compilers have found this wonderful utterance and each has used it to place, not this time at the end, but at the head of his collection. One of the two had it in a complete form, while the other had a mutilated copy which lacked the last sentence. Again, *Jeremiah* contains several passages found elsewhere, among which we may especially notice a parallel within the book itself, l. 41-43 is closely parallel to vi. 22-24. The main difference is that the latter passage is addressed to Zion, the former, merely by the alteration of the name, to Babylon. Again, we note that in ch. vi the little poem is carried on down to verse 26, and we are led to feel that the collector who introduced it into ch. I had only a mutilated form in front of him.

Sometimes we suspect that the recurrence of a word or phrase has induced the collector to place two passages side by side. A good instance may be seen in a passage already referred to, Isa. i, where verses 9 and 10 both mention Sodom and Gomorrah. But this (apart from the metre) is the only link between the two, since verses 4-9 are a cry of suffering over the distress of Judah; and though the fact of her sin is not ignored, the main theme is the desolation of the land.

¹ The word rendered "stem" means properly the stump left in the ground after a tree has been cut down.

Verses 10 ff., on the other hand, are a denunciation of the cultus and a demand for social justice, with no reference whatever to the punishment which the country is enduring. Grouping according to subject is very common; the passages in *Hosea* which describe religion in terms of the marriage relation all stand near the beginning of the book, though not all in the same collection. This tendency is most obvious where patriotic collectors have put together utterances which deal with foreign nations. Thus, in Jer. xlvii we have a little collection of poems which refer to Egypt, of which the first two are found in verses 3-6 and 7 ff. respectively. Jer. xlviii has Moab for its subject, and two, at least, of the pieces are found also in a similar collection in Isa. xv. f. One book, that which bears the name of Obadiah, consists almost entirely of such pieces; all directed against Edom, and, again, two of these are to be found in Jer. xlix. 7 ff.

Nahum consists (apart from the opening psalm) of passages describing the fall of Nineveh. Sometimes the separate collections, each dealing with one nation, are combined into longer booklets; we have such "collections of collections" in *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* and *Amos*. In the case of *Jeremiah* one whole group, comprising l, li, is concerned with the overthrow of Babylon, and must date from a time long after the death of Jeremiah himself.

Another striking tendency of the collectors remains to be noticed. This is their fondness for a happy ending. Few people like to close on a note of gloom, and ancient Israel was particularly sensitive on this matter. In later days the feeling was so strong that there were certain books—*Isaiah* among them—in which the closing verse was so sad that another was always read after it. So any collection of prophetic utterances will have at the end, if possible, a passage containing a promise of a brighter day. The instance of Isa. xi has already been noted, and it is followed by a pair of happy little psalms in ch. xii, with which this particular collection concludes. *Hosea* and *Amos* both end on a note of hopefulness, and in the latter book, at any rate, the compiler has finished with a passage which almost certainly comes from a later time, when the "tabernacle of David"

had fallen, *i.e.* his dynasty was no longer on the throne. It might be that a collector could find a passage which was certainly due to the prophet whose words formed his main interest, but failing that, he would do his best to provide what he needed from some other source, or even, possibly, add something of his own.

We thus reach certain general conclusions, subject to slight modifications in individual instances, as to the way in which the poetical sections of the prophetic books reached the form in which we now find them. We have the original utterances of the prophet, given in short, telling, often passionate, lyrics, remembered and written down separately. Small collections of these were made, and the collectors continued to add from time to time passages which came into their hands from one source or another. They were not particular as to the completeness of what they found, nor were they greatly concerned as to authorship, especially in the later stages of the process. The growth of the collections continued over a long period, perhaps over some centuries. Several of the prophetic books never pass beyond this stage; *Joel*,¹ *Obadiah*, *Zephaniah* and *Malachi* consist each of a single collection of this kind. In *Micah* we seem to have a combination of two, or possibly three, collections, while in *Nahum* and *Habakkuk* a psalm has been added to the true prophetic material, in the one case at the beginning, in the other at the end. The remaining books all include a certain amount of prose, and to this element in their structure we now turn.

II. BIOGRAPHICAL PROSE (B)

A superficial study of the prose sections found in the prophetic books shows us that it falls readily into two main types. In the first class, we have narratives about the prophet's experiences, written in the third person, and quite frankly the work of a "biographer." It is true that we cannot speak strictly of biography in this connexion, since there seems to have been no attempt so to arrange the

¹ *Joel* may, perhaps, be regarded rather as a little group of small "collections." In any case the pieces in it come from more than one hand, possibly from more than one period, see below, pp. 357 f.

material as to give a picture of the life of the man concerned. In all probability we have here again collections, this time of popular stories, such as would be told about the great heroes of Israel, including, not only the canonical prophets, but also many of their predecessors. Occasionally we have reason to suspect that imagination has played a part in their construction; some of the Elisha stories would serve as illustrations. In other cases, however—and *Jeremiah* is the outstanding instance—we have good grounds for believing that the narratives are a strictly reliable account by an eyewitness of the events described. Collections of this kind were available for the use of the compilers of the books of *Samuel* and *Kings*, especially the latter, and we have one instance in which narratives used in an historical book were also included in a prophetic book—that of *Isaiah*.¹

One complete book, that of *Jonah*,² is a prose description of events in the prophet's life, and this type of writing is found also in *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Amos* and *Hosea*. One of its characteristic features is that it contains very little of the actual message delivered by the prophet. We are told simply, *e.g.* that Jonah preached to Nineveh, but we have no record of the words he used. Sometimes we have passages in which the messages are given at length, but in these cases there is generally ground for suspicion that they belonged originally to another type, and have been slightly modified to appear in the third person.³

III. AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL PROSE (C)

In the second class of prose passages we have material, written in the first person, describing actual experiences of the prophet. Where a prophet gives us an account of his initial call, it is in this form, and pieces of this type usually describe the actual message which a prophet delivered. Many of them recount visions received and conversations

¹ Jer. lli represents the reverse process. It does not mention Jeremiah and is a kind of appendix taken from an historical book.

² The Psalm in ch. ii is not an original part of the book; cp. pp. 379 f.

³ This seems to be the best explanation of the form now assumed by Jer. vii and the whole of *Haggai*.

carried on between the prophet and his God while he was in the ecstatic state. Several of these are described for us in *Jeremiah* and *Amos*, while the original work of *Zechariah* belongs almost entirely to this form. As has just been remarked, there are one or two instances (e.g. the opening verses of Jer. vii and the book of *Haggai*) which, in style and content, attach themselves to this type, though they now appear in the third person. We may conjecture that these passages have been modified from an original first person. Sometimes we have parallels, one in each of the two prose forms. Thus it seems clear that Jer. vii. 1-20 and Jer. xxvi refer to the same occasion, and it may be maintained that Hosea i (third person) and Hosea iii (first person) are parallel accounts of the same event as seen from two different points of view. There is, in Zech. xi. 4-17, one curious, isolated passage of this type, to which the name of no prophet is attached; and it is found also in *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* (practically the whole book), *Hosea* and *Amos*. The probability of its occurrence in *Haggai* has already been noted.

Such evidence as is available suggests that where this type occurs it may be ascribed to the prophet himself, unless there are strong reasons to the contrary. We may suspect that where it contains his message, as it so often does, the original words were heard and uttered in the poetic form usual in prophetic oracles. But when the prophet himself wrote them down, or superintended their transcription, it seems that he turned them into prose. There are those who hold that every genuine message was what a prophet heard Yahweh say while in the ecstatic condition, and that he repeated it in poetic form to the bystanders when he recovered his normal state. Such utterances would be remembered and handed from one to another in their original form. It was only when the prophet himself had them written down, when the keenness of his memory was growing dull, that he gave the substance in prose. There is at least one instance in which we have the same little oracle in the two forms,¹

¹ Jer. xxii. 10-12; verse 10 is in poetic form, while verses 11 and 12 simply repeat the substance of the brief lyric with additions and circumlocutions.

and this helps us to understand the way in which this last type of prose may have been produced.

Our first glance, then, at the prophetic books has shown us three main types of material:

- A. Oracular poetry.
- B. Biographical prose, *i.e.* prose in the third person.
- C. Autobiographical prose, *i.e.* prose in the first person.

We meet occasionally with passages which do not come under any of these heads, particularly in the form of longer and more artificial poems, and from time to time we suspect that there have been considerable modifications of the original, but these three will always be found to serve as giving us a general outline of the material. We have now to consider the way in which it was used to form the books as we have them to-day.

IV. STAGES IN COMPILATION

We have already seen that the basis of much of our prophetic books is to be found in a number of comparatively small collections of poetic material (type A). It is this which forms the first stage, and with it we may class collections belonging to one or other of the two prose types, especially to B. A number of our books (including, as far as *form* goes, *Ezekiel*) got no farther, and are still "simple." These include most of the "*Twelve*"—*Joel*, *Obadiah*, *Micah*, *Zephaniah*, *Haggai*, *Malachi*, while *Jonah*, *Nahum* and *Habakkuk* include each a psalm in addition to the strictly prophetic material. Each of these includes only one type, though further examination may show that some of them have been formed by attaching two or more collections to one another. The other books—*Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Hosea*, *Amos* and *Zechariah*—we may call *composite*, since they include more than one type. Nor were they produced simply by taking all the material of one type and placing it together, before or after all the material of another type. In these books the types are interwoven with one another, and usually in a way which makes it clear that the work was done deliberately, and in accordance with some definite plan. Here we have another stage, distinct

from that of the *collector*, which we may call that of the *compiler*.

The methods of these compilers deserve careful study, and, since they differed somewhat in the case of different books, they must be left for discussion under the head of each individual prophet. But, in general, we may remark that a compiler seldom broke up a collection of oracular poetry. That he kept mainly intact (there are exceptions, especially in *Isaiah*), and used selections from one or other of the prose types he found to his hand to introduce or to close the collection. This is especially noticeable in cases where (as happens particularly often in the book of *Jeremiah*) the prose sections were dated.

One more step must be noted. Several oracular collections were anonymous, and it is a most interesting fact that we are ignorant of the very names of some of the men who have told us most about God. Yet their words were included, since men recognized the divine origin of the message enshrined therein. Their exact position was determined by various considerations; one of the longest of these collections was placed immediately after the book of *Isaiah*. Three others, very different in style and tone, yet all bearing at their head the word *massa*, "burden" or "oracle," were appended to the book of *Zechariah* in its original form (Zech. i-viii).¹ The last of these had a name given to it from its own text, and was called "Malachi" = "my messenger" (Mal. iii. 1). This secured its independence, but the others came to be simply attached to the books which preceded them. So to this day we include one of the larger anonymous collections in the book of *Isaiah* (Isa. xl-lxvi),² while two of them now form part of the book of *Zechariah* (Zech. ix-xi, xii-xiv), and perhaps other phenomena of the prophetic books are to be explained in the same way.

With this brief general introduction we can proceed to the individual prophetic books.

¹ Viz. Zech. ix-xi; xii-xiv; *Malachi*. The word *massa* seems to have been used both for a collection of oracles (cp. Isa. xv. 1; xvii. 1; xix. 1; xxi. 1; xxi. 11, 13; xxii. 1; xxiii. 1; xxx. 6; Nah. i. 1; Hab. i. 1; etc.) as well as for a single oracle, provided it dealt with a separate subject.

² There are almost certainly two collections included here, but they had probably been united into a single book before they were placed after Isa. xxxix.

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

THE *Book of Isaiah* belongs to the group known to Jewish scholars as the "Prophets," and, more particularly, to that section called the "Later Prophets."¹ That section consists of four books, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* and the "*Twelve*," and they are usually placed in this order. There is, however, a strong tradition among the Rabbis to the effect that *Isaiah* should stand third of the greater prophets and not first. This seems to have been due, partly to the feeling that *Jeremiah* continued, in a certain sense, the book of *Kings*,² and partly to the obviously later date of Isa. xl ff. In the Septuagint there are variations, but in the best MSS. the "*Twelve*" are placed before the other three, though their order is the usual one—*Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*. In the Peshitta *Isaiah* stands at the head of the "Later Prophets," and is followed, not by *Jeremiah*, but by the "*Twelve*," while the Vulgate has the order usually found in modern versions.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The life and ministry of Isaiah fall within the period of the great advance of the Assyrians westward. When he received his call to the prophetic work, the first expedition of Tiglath-pileser had not yet taken place, and the political horizon of Palestine was limited by the little group of kindred states on both sides of the Jordan and to the immediate north and south.

Tiglath-pileser came to the throne in 745 B.C. and spent the first few years of his reign in consolidating his kingdom, and in securing its northern and eastern frontiers. But in

¹ See above, pp. 4 ff.

² Cp. Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, pp. 237-239 (1895).

738 B.C. he was in the west, and Menahem of Samaria paid tribute to him. Dynastic changes followed swiftly both in Israel and in Damascus, and the pro-Assyrian party gave place to another which was, perhaps, pro-Egyptian, and was certainly anti-Assyrian. Rezon of Damascus and Pekah of Samaria attempted to revive the alliance which, a century earlier, had kept Shalmaneser iii at bay. They tried to force Ahaz of Judah into the coalition, and, on his refusal to join them, they made an attempt to replace him with one of their own nominees. The country seems to have suffered, and possibly Jerusalem was besieged. But the city was not taken, and in three successive years, 734-732 B.C., Tiglath-pileser was in Palestine. Damascus fell almost at once, and in 733 B.C. Pekah was replaced by Hoshea. In 732 B.C. the final settlement of the north was made, great numbers of the inhabitants being deported, and both Damascus and northern Israel being organized as provinces of the Assyrian empire. The territory left to Hoshea hardly extended north of the plain of Esdraelon.

In 727 B.C. Tiglath-pileser was succeeded by Shalmaneser v. Revolts broke out almost at once, probably instigated by Egypt, and in 724 B.C. Shalmaneser moved westwards. Hoshea was captured and killed, but the city of Samaria resisted for another three years, and was captured only by Sargon, who succeeded Shalmaneser in 722 B.C. Samaria was now formed into an Assyrian province.

Up to this point Judah had been consistently pro-Assyrian. But with the outbreak of a new revolt in 711 B.C., Hezekiah seems to have taken the other side. The religious reform attributed to him, if historical, may have been, in one of its aspects, a gesture of independence. If so, it was carried out either at this date or between 705 and 701 B.C. The chief object of Sargon's wrath was Ashdod, which he captured, and no further harm seems to have befallen Hezekiah. The country remained quiet till after the death of Sargon in 705 B.C.; but then, thanks to the energy and ability of the Babylonian Merodach-baladan, almost the whole empire broke away from Sennacherib. In the west the only vassal who remained faithful was Padi, king of Ekron, who was

deposed by his subjects and sent to Jerusalem, where he was imprisoned by Hezekiah. But Sennacherib was equal to the occasion. He first defeated a concerted movement by the Babylonians and Elamites, driving Merodach-baladan finally out of the country. In 701 B.C. he marched westwards, everywhere putting down the rebellion. Judah was laid desolate, and Sennacherib claims to have captured forty-six fortified cities in addition to countless unwalled towns. Hezekiah submitted and Jerusalem was not seriously besieged. The Egyptians attempted to make a diversion, but were defeated at Eltekeh in the far south. Sennacherib carried away an enormous number of captives (he claims 200,150) and exacted a burdensome tribute from Hezekiah, whose territory he also reduced.

Judah was fortunate to escape so lightly. No doubt, one of the reasons why Assyria so easily overran Israel and Damascus is to be found in the social and moral deterioration of the country during the preceding century. Israel, especially in the north, had grown wealthy, and had succeeded in outstripping her rival, Damascus. But prosperity was confined to a small class; the rest sank into depths of poverty and even into slavery, as the wealthy became richer and more luxurious. There was an internal canker in the people which meant that, sooner or later, the nation must lose her national independence. The conditions depicted for us by the eighth-century prophets, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, made the ruin of the country not merely intelligible but inevitable.

The religious situation, like the political and social conditions of the age, gave little hope for the future. The syncretism, the mixed cult, which meant that men worshipped Yahweh with the theories and rites appropriate to the old Canaanite Baals, could exercise no ameliorating influence. Hosea saw through this type of religion and declared it to be but the worship of Baal. The old traditional faith of Israel, traced back in history to Moses and, theoretically, imported with Israel into Palestine, retained its purity only in special places and groups of people. To the south and east, we may believe, where a large proportion of the community lived on a plane which was still pastoral, rather than agricultural

and civic, the old Yahwism had a better opportunity of maintaining itself, and there were groups of men and women, e.g. the Rechabites, who held that the old faith was the only justifiable one. The same position was taken by a strong element in the prophetic succession from Elijah onwards, and it was to this side of Israelite religious thought that the great canonical prophets belonged. It is against this background, historical, social and religious, that we must see the work of Isaiah; and, if we can but do so, we shall value all the more the truth and the courage which marked him out and gave him the unique position he still holds in the history of man's spiritual life.

III. CONTENTS

Like most of the prophetic books, *Isaiah* consists largely of oracles of different kinds, together with a certain number of autobiographical and biographical passages. The latter are grouped together in chs. xxxvi-xxxix, thus dividing the strictly prophetic material into two parts. A detailed discussion of the contents, however, is possible only when the structure of the book as a whole has been considered.

IV. STRUCTURE AND DATE

1. *General: the larger divisions.*

As we have already noted, the book of *Isaiah* falls into three main sections. The first of these is the usual type of prophetic collection, and frequently the oracles and narratives bear the name of Isaiah the son of Amoz, a prophet who lived and worked in Jerusalem during the latter part of the eighth century B.C. This division includes chs. i-xxxv. In the second place, we have narratives in the third person—type B;¹ and in the third, chs. xl-lxvi, we have another oracular collection, in which, however, the name of Isaiah nowhere appears. The second division is closely paralleled by ii Kgs. xviii. 13-xx. 19, and it is clear that, even if we cannot definitely say that one passage was copied from the

¹ See pp. 228 f.

other, they have a common origin, from which neither can have diverged very widely.

It is generally recognised that the first and third divisions had originally nothing to do with one another. The third does not claim to be the work of Isaiah, and its style and vocabulary are different.¹ There are striking differences in the theological outlook, of which the most prominent is the view taken of the relation between Yahweh and the other gods. Isaiah of Jerusalem despises them, and exalts Yahweh above them all, but in xl-lxvi their very existence is categorically denied (cp., e.g. xli. 24, xliv. 9). While we have in several of the pre-exilic prophets adumbrations of such a doctrine, and in all of them beliefs which ultimately and inevitably lead to it, it is in this third section of the book of *Isaiah* that we have for the first time a clear and unmistakable monotheism. And, perhaps most obvious and convincing of all, we note that the whole background of the two sections is different. We shall have to allow for the presence of later material in Isa. i-xxxv, it is true, but in those parts which are certainly to be ascribed to Isaiah himself the background is that of the eighth century B.C., during the great advance of Assyria westwards, while chs. xl ff. presuppose the last years of the Babylonian empire, i.e. the latter half of the sixth century B.C. This does not mean that there is no prediction in chs. xl-lxvi; on the contrary, a great deal of the material consists in utterances which foretell the future. But, as Gray has so well observed, "prophecy, unless it can be shown to be a *vaticinium ex eventu*, must have been written before what it predicts, but after what it presupposes; ix. 7-x. 4 was therefore written before 722 B.C., and xl-lv before 538; but the latter section, since it *presupposes* that Cyrus has already achieved remarkable victories, must have been written after *circa* 550 B.C."²

Such external evidence as is available tends to support this conclusion. While it is true that, at the beginning of the

¹ For a list of expressions which are characteristic of chs. xl-lxvi, but are never found in undisputed utterances of Isaiah, cp. Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-227.

² *Isaiah*, p. xxxi (1912). For the historical background of xl-lv, see below, pp. 262 ff.

second century B.C., the writer of *Ecclesiasticus* attributed the later portions of the book to Isaiah himself (Ecclus. xlviii. 24 f.), it seems certain that the reference of the Chronicler in ii Chron. xxxvi. 22-23 (= Ezra i. 1-2) is to this book, there attributed to Jeremiah. The book of *Jeremiah* does contain a prediction of the return after seventy years (Jer. xxv. 12, xxix. 10), and is undoubtedly the subject of the reference in ii Chron. xxxvi. 21; but the two verses in question especially connect Cyrus with the rebuilding of the Temple, and can refer only to Isa. xlv. 28-xlv. 1. It is thus clear that at the beginning of the third century B.C. these chapters were not yet attributed to Isaiah. Probably their attachment to this book was accidental. An anonymous collection, included in the books of the prophets, was almost certain, in process of time, to be read continuously with the collection which preceded it. We have parallels in the two little collections which immediately followed *Zechariah*, and the same principle may be seen in the Rabbinic dictum that an "orphan"-psalm is to be attributed to the last author mentioned in the titles. This combination of Isa. i-xxxix, and xl-lxvi requires no further explanation than the supposition that the second, anonymous, group was at some time or other placed immediately after the book which was attributed to Isaiah himself.

2. *Chapters i-xxxix.*

The original Isaianic book, like others of the longer prophetic books, is made up of a number of older and shorter collections. Here they are particularly easy to identify, and are clearly as follows:

- A. Ch. i.
- B. Chs. ii-v.
- C. Chs. vi-xii.
- D. Chs. xiii-xxiii.
- E. Chs. xxiv-xxvii.
- F. Chs. xxviii-xxxv.
- G. Chs. xxxvi-xxxix.

A. Ch. i. (i) *Structure.* A detailed analysis of the short

collection in ch. i will serve to illustrate the method on which we may deal with the great majority of such collections. Verse 1 forms a title for the whole book, and we have then the following independent pieces:

(a) Verses 2-3. A brief oracle in which heaven and earth are called to witness the infidelity and ingratitude of Israel towards Yahweh. The metre is 3 : 3. Clearly inserted at the head as striking a keynote for the book, or at least the collection.

(b) Verses 4-9. A lament over the calamity and desolation which have fallen upon the land. While the sin of Israel is recognized as the primary cause, the stress is laid on the result of this, *i.e.* the disaster and sufferings of the land. The metre is 2 : 2, with an occasional 3 : 2.

(c) Verses 10-17. A denunciation of sacrifice as practised by Israel. The metre is the same as the last, with a much larger proportion of 3 : 2. The subject, however, is entirely different, and the collector has been led to place the two together by the reference to Sodom and Gomorrah with which the one ends and the other begins. We note further that, while the parallelism in verses 4-9 is mainly internal, that of 10-17 is usually external.¹

(d) Verses 18-20. An appeal and a warning. The metre is again *Qinah* (3 : 2), and the parallelism in verse 18 is internal, in verses 19-20 external. We observe that a "signature"—"for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it"—is appended, a phrase which has no place in the metrical structure of the oracle.

(e) Verses 21-28. An elegy on the sinful city of Jerusalem. The metre is again *Qinah*, but it seems that once or twice an editor or copyist has added a word or two. Verse 25 has, apparently, lost a two-stress *stichos*, and, if this can be assumed, verses 21-23 and 24-26 look as if they might form exactly parallel strophes, the first lamenting the corruption of Jerusalem, and the second foretelling purification and restoration. The appearance, however, is fallacious, for 24a can have formed no part of the oracle itself, but rather implies that a new one is about to begin. This impression

¹ For the metrical references cp. pp. 141 ff.

is borne out by the exclamation "Ah!" at the beginning of 24b, which would stand most naturally at the head of a metrical unit, whether poem or strophe. This does not exclude the possibility that 24a is wholly redactional, except, perhaps, for the "Therefore" at the beginning, and if we could accept this suggestion we might regard the whole passage as a continuous poem. If it be felt that the two must be kept separate, we can explain their proximity to one another by the similarity in language. Collectors, as we have seen, were fond of putting together pieces which had ideas or words in common.

Verses 27-28 are clearly a fragment—or a pair of fragments—which were appended to the preceding oracle before it was included in the collection.

(f) and (g) Verses 29-30 and 31 are again fragments, of which the first is a condemnation of tree-worship, with an irregular metre (3:3 + 4:3), suggesting corruption, the second a couple of 3:2 lines, threatening punishment.

(ii) *Date.* While this chapter is a very good example, on a small scale, of a typical prophetic collection, it also serves to illustrate the difficulties which confront us when we try to assign dates to the individual pieces. There is no reason to deny any oracle, or even fragment, to Isaiah, but we are forced back on guess-work as soon as we attempt a more exact dating. As far as we know, there was no point during the life of Isaiah (except possibly after the reforms of Hezekiah) when Israel could not be described as sinful and ungrateful, and we have nowhere any suggestion that there was a time when sacrifices were not offered. The second utterance, it is true, will more probably have come from a time when the land had been overrun by a foreign enemy, and here we are left with a choice between several possible occasions known to us. The lament might describe the desolation wrought by the combined armies of Pekah and Rezon in 734 B.C. (see ii Kgs. xv. 37), or to the invasion of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. (see ii Kgs. xviii. 13 ff.), or to some other similar disaster of which we have no surviving account, perhaps to damage done by Sargon in 711 B.C.¹ 701 B.C. is

¹ This campaign was undertaken primarily against the Philistines, see

the favourite date, but we may ask whether Isaiah would have so spoken of the sins of his people at a point comparatively soon after the reforms of Hezekiah.

B. Chaps. ii-v. (i) *Structure.* (a) The collection opens with a "floating" oracle, ii. 2-4 (metre 3:3), found also in Mic. iv. 1-4. It is anonymous, and was adopted by both collectors to place at the head of their booklets. The text is better preserved in *Micah* than in *Isaiah*, and the collector in the latter case had only a mutilated form, for the last sentences, including the "signature," are now found only in *Micah*. Verse 5 is a pious exhortation based on the preceding oracle.

(b) ii. 6-19 presents an extraordinarily difficult problem, since the text is corrupt, and, possibly, has been disarranged. We may have here a single poem with a refrain (verses 10 and 19), or we may have two different poems, to one, or both, of which the refrain had been appended at a later stage. The last suggestion derives some support from the fact that a prose addition in verses 20, 21 embodies the refrain in a totally different connexion. Probably verses 6-21 had reached something like their present form when incorporated by the collector, but verse 22 is an interpolation which must have been inserted very late, since it is not represented in the Septuagint. Metres seem somewhat irregular, but the prevailing rhythm in both parts is 3:3.

(c) In iii. 1-12 we have an oracle whose original nucleus was probably verses 1-6 (*Qinah*), but which has received additions. Possibly verses 11-12 were an independent oracle (3:3). Another short oracle in 3:3, with the "signature" at the end, appears in iii. 13-15.

(d) iii. 16-iv. 1, in *Qinah*, describes the doom of the women of Jerusalem, and a late scribe has inserted in verses 18-23 a regular "milliner's catalogue" which, naturally, is in prose.

(e) iv. 2-6 forms a little eschatological utterance, depicting the final purification of Jerusalem. The metre is somewhat uncertain, being mainly 3:3 (2:2:2) in verses 2-3, and *Qinah* in the rest. The passage may have

Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, p. 123 (1914), but the proximity of Judah may well have tempted the Assyrian army to marauding expeditions over the border.

undergone some revision before its inclusion in the collection.

(f) v. 1-7 (in *Qinah* metre) contains the "Song of the Vineyard," with its application, and this is followed by a series of denunciations on various types of sinners, land-grabbers (8-10, *Qinah*), drunkards (11-17, *Qinah*, and 22-24, 3:3), the presumptuous (18-19, in 2:2:2 rhythm), those who confuse moral issues (20, *Qinah*), the conceited (21, 3:3). These passages form a little collection by themselves, and, though they can have no original organic unity with one another, they were probably put together at an early stage; the exclamation with which each begins would form a link of the kind which often induced compilers to bring together pieces originally independent.

(g) v. 25 is a curious mixture of an oracle-fragment with a refrain which appears repeatedly in ix. 7-x. 4. Its insertion here may be simply accidental.

(h) v. 26-30 describes a coming invader who will execute Yahweh's judgement on His people. It is generally held that the section is connected with ix. 8-x. 4, which has all the appearance¹ of being a strophic poem with the same refrain as that which we find in verse 25b. If this view of ix. 8-x. 4 be right, then probably the transposition is justified, though the reason for the change of place is not clear. The metre is *Qinah*, and the piece seems to be mutilated at the end.

(ii) *Date*. Once again we find ourselves at a loss to assign accurate dates. The "floating oracle" in ii. 2-4 may be as early as Isaiah, though there is a tendency to associate it with the comforting prophecies of the end of the Exile. It seems to have been known to the author of Joel iii. 10, but this certainly does not imply an early date. The additions to the original nucleus of ii. 11-19 are probably post-exilic. The oracle in iv. 2-6 may also be comparatively late. It is eschatological (though not to be denied to Isaiah simply on that ground) and refers to the "Branch" in a way which suggests that the term was a familiar expression of eschato-

¹ For further discussion see below, pp. 245 f., and for various arrangements cp. Gray, *Isaiah*, p. 180.

logical language. Elsewhere we know of it first at the end of the seventh century (*e.g.* Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15), and then it seems to be a new concept. The "Song of the Vineyard" and the denunciations which follow may come from any period in the life of Isaiah, and the last oracle, if it be correctly connected with ix. 8-x. 4, will probably have been uttered at some point during the years 736-725 B.C.

C. Chaps. vi-xii. (i) *Structure.* In this section we meet with prophetic prose for the first time. It was, probably, all of the autobiographical (C) type originally, though one or two of the sections have now assumed the third person, *e.g.* vii. 3, 13. A copyist may have mistaken the last letter of the Hebrew word "to me" for the initial of the prophet's name. There is other evidence to show that proper names were often indicated simply by their initial letter. While the main narratives are always in prose, the words, both of Yahweh and of the prophet, tend to assume a rhythmical form, often showing a certain parallelism, though no regular metre can be identified. In some instances, too, the collector has found narratives to which oracular matter has been attached.

(a) vi. 1-13. The opening piece is Isaiah's story of his first ecstatic experience, constituting his call to the prophetic ministry. It is too well known to need further description; suffice it to point out that it ends with a verse which is hopelessly obscure, and may well have suffered textual corruption. Or, perhaps, verse 13 may be a collector's addition to what is one of the finest pieces of descriptive writing in all known literature.

(b) In vii. 1-9 we have the first of a series of passages which deal with the joint attack of Israel and Syria on Judah. In its present form it is in the third person, but this may be due to accidental corruption, since, in general, the passage resembles others of type C rather than type B. The first five verses give the occasion, and the message is contained in verses 7-9. The latter can be arranged metrically (3:3), but is prosaic in form, and is suspected of having received later accretions.

(c) vii. 10-17 gives another message of the same period,

in which a symbolic child, named Immanuel, is mentioned. This is followed by a series of short utterances with an eschatological tone, which may, originally, have had nothing to do with the preceding passage. The first (verses 18-19) predicts the coming of armies both from Egypt and from Assyria against Judah. Isaianic authorship has been doubted on the ground that Isaiah never feared the military power of Egypt, though he was afraid of an alliance with that country. This, however, is hardly decisive, since we must always allow for the possibility of a change in opinion due to altered circumstances.

(d) vii. 18-25. Yahweh summons Egypt and Assyria to exact his vengeance on Israel (verses 18-19—apparently originally 3:3). In verses 20, 21-22 and 23-25 we have three pictures of depopulation and desolation, which, again, we cannot safely assign to any particular period in the life of Isaiah, though there is no particular reason to suspect his authorship. The metre of the two former seems to have been 3:3; the third was probably *Qinah* in the main.

(e) viii. 1-10. viii. 1-4 is another passage derived from the autobiographical material. It describes the birth of Maher-shalal-hash-baz, whose name predicts the fall of Samaria and Damascus. To this have been appended two short oracles, or fragments of oracles. Thus, verses 5-8a (in *Qinah*, mutilated at the end) form part of a threat of destruction, verses 8b-10, part of a promise of protection, probably in 3:3.

(f) In viii. 11-15 we have another extract from Isaiah's own writing which may have been expanded. The prophet is warned against following popular opinions, and, while there are traces of parallelism and rhythm, no regular metre can be detected.

(g) viii. 16-18. The last piece of autobiographical matter in this section is to be found in viii. 16-18. Here Isaiah is bidden to seal up his testimony in the minds of his disciples, leaving his name and those of his children as a memorial for later generations.

(h) viii. 19-ix. 1. The extract is followed by two short fragments, of which the first, verses 19-20, is a warning

against necromancy, and the second, verses 21-22, a threat of desolation. To this last a prose note has been appended in ix. 1 (in Hebr. viii. 23), mitigating the doom by a promise of restoration for northern Israel. This note may have been the work of Isaiah, or may have been expanded from something he said after the desolation of the north by Tiglath-pileser in 732 B.C.

The compiler of this collection, vi-xii, has now used all the autobiographical material he thought suitable for his purpose, together with the oracular fragments appended to its various sections. He proceeds to add other oracles, which, as it seemed to him, might fit the general period to which his collection primarily refers.

(i) The first piece he thus takes is the well-known Messianic passage, ix. 2-7 (Hebr. 1-6). The metre is *Qinah*. Isaianic authorship has been questioned by a number of modern scholars, but the linguistic and similar grounds are indecisive,¹ and it is impossible to resist the feeling that scholars have been too much influenced by the idea that Messianic prophecy is necessarily late. In its simplest form, that of the expectation and hope of an ideal king (and that is all that can be claimed for this passage), it may have been very early, and we can certainly trace it in writings a century later than Isaiah, and, probably, also elsewhere in Isaiah himself.² Perhaps too much stress has been laid on the connexion between this and the Messianic passage in ch. xi. As we shall see later, though there are similarities, there are also differences, and the two do not necessarily go together.

(j) ix. 8-x. 4. ix. 2-7 is followed by a passage which has all the appearance of being a strophic poem, to each stanza of which a refrain has been added. It extends from ix. 8-x. 4, and, probably, v. 25b-30.³ Including this last passage, there are five stanzas: ix. 8-12, ix. 13-17, ix. 18-21, x. 1-4, v. 25b-30. The first of these, whose metre is partly 3:3, partly *Qinah*, threatens the pride of Ephraim with punishment. The second condemns the refusal of Israel to repent;

¹ Cp. Gray, *Isaiah*, pp. 166-168 (1912), and, for the other point of view Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, pp. 41-46 (1895).

² E.g. in xxxii. 1 f.

³ See above, p. 242.

it may be arranged in 3 : 3, but its language is prosaic. The third describes civil war in the northern kingdom, and written in 3 : 3; verse 20 looks like a gloss. The fourth condemns the corruption of justice (3 : 3), and the last forms a threat of foreign invasion. It is assumed that all refer to northern Israel. Closer examination, however, makes the unity of the whole problematical. The stanzas are not all of equal length (ix. 14-15 are generally held to be a later insertion in the second section), and there is not that consecutiveness which would be expected in such a poem. The fourth section is often suspected of being a later composition, and it handles a theme slightly different from the others. Further, the construction of a poem of this kind is, even if not wholly without parallel, strange to the peculiar literary genius of the prophets. It is too artificial for the sudden, lyric, outburst of feeling and conviction which usually marks prophetic utterance.

We are led, then, to suspect that an early compiler has taken four or five Isaianic oracles and has attached a refrain to them—possibly it was original with one of them. One of the oracles still maintained a separate existence, and was used by the compiler of the second collection (chs. ii-v); perhaps for this reason it was omitted from the group when the whole was absorbed into the book of *Isaiah*. We need not doubt that the passage was already in its present form when it was placed in this collection by the compiler; the unification of the five passages belongs to a still earlier stage in the history of the development of the text. We have no reason to doubt that *Isaiah* was the author of all five.

(k) x. 5-9 forms a poem (3 : 3) in which Assyria is denounced, and the prophet's philosophy of history is enunciated. Two additions have been made to this, verses 10-11 (*Qinah*) turn the judgement from Assyria to Judah, and verse 12 summarizes the teaching of the oracle itself.

(l) In x. 13-18 we have another oracle, mainly in 3 : 3 metre, on the same subject as the last, with an appendix added later, in verse 19. Two other pieces, fragmentary, now follow, in x. 20-23 and 24-27a. The former of these is mainly in 2 : 2 : 2 metre, while the latter seems to be now in

prose. Both hold out a hope of restoration to Judah, and the former of them speaks of the remnant that shall return. This is a doctrine characteristic of Isaiah, and the promise of deliverance from Assyria, which follows, may also be from his lips, although such a prospect is not usual with him.

(m) x. 27b-34 gives us a vivid picture in *Qinah* of the advance of an army upon Jerusalem. It might conceivably have been the combined forces of Pekah and Rezon, but the compiler evidently thought of the Assyrians, since the rest of the oracles he here put together deal with that people. x. 33-34 may also have referred, in the first instance, to Assyria, and was probably added to this little group on that theory.

(n) A second Messianic passage appears in xi. 1-9 (3:3). It is interesting to find this passage quoted in lxxv. 25, though the words are not taken exactly and consecutively. Moreover, verse 9b is not represented in lxxv, though 9a is repeated accurately, and we may conclude that 9c, which does not fit the metre of the rest of this piece, was a later addition which was made before the compiler inserted the whole here. The quotations in ch. lxxv will probably have been taken, not from the finished book, but from the isolated oracle. Unlike ix. 1-7, this passage can hardly be pre-exilic, for the word used for "stock" in verse 1 implies the stump of a tree left in the ground after it has been cut down, and could hardly have been employed if the Davidic dynasty was still on the throne.

(o) xi. 10-16. The remainder of ch. xi consists of a series of pieces which are probably fragments, and all seem to be not earlier than the Exile. Verse 10, for instance (3:3), seems to stand practically alone, though we can readily see why a collector should have attached it to the preceding. Possibly verses 11-14 (also 3:3) may be read continuously, as a promise of the return of the exiles, though some scholars regard verse 11 as prose. Verse 15 (*Qinah*) is again a fragment, which has little or no connexion with the preceding, and, while the mention of Assyria in verse 16 might imply a pre-exilic date, the language suggests dependence on the admittedly exilic and post-exilic portions of the book of *Isaiah*.

(p) xii. 1-6. The collection concludes with a pair of psalms, in xii. 1-2 and 4b-6 (both in 3:3); between them stands a little introduction to the second, verses 3-4a. These small psalms are songs celebrating the deliverance of Israel from captivity, and were suitably appended by the compiler to the last verses of ch. xi. They have parallels in other writings, *e.g.* verse 2 recalls Exod. xv. 2, and 4b. is made up of phrases which occur in Ps. cv. 1 and cxlviii. 13. It does not follow that we have here deliberate quotation from those psalms; the language may have been taken by both from some common source no longer extant. But the psalms are certainly post-exilic, and probably not earlier than the fourth century B.C.

(ii) *Date.* Some of the pieces in this collection are dated, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the time assigned to them. Thus, ch. vi certainly must be attributed to the last year of Uzziah, and the autobiographical material in chs. vii-viii clearly comes from 735-4 B.C. We may ascribe ix. 27b-32 either to that time or to 701 B.C. For the rest, we have no means of getting nearer than to say that some of the material is either exilic or post-exilic. Some of the pieces, as we have seen, have little appendices which cannot be earlier than the Exile, while the pair of psalms which conclude the collection and round it off into a compact whole are considerably later than the Return. This justifies us in believing that the date of the collection, as a collection, is probably not earlier than the middle of the fourth century B.C., even though the greater part of the material included comes from Isaiah of Jerusalem, and must be ascribed to the eighth century B.C.

D. Chaps. xiii-xxiii. (i) *Structure.* As in other books, notably *Amos*, *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, we have here a collection of oracles which deal with foreign nations. Properly speaking, each is a little collection within the larger one, for in most instances we shall find that there is more than one piece dealing with each nation. We may take them in the order in which they stand.

(a) *Babylon* (xiii-xiv. 23). Ch. xiii is sometimes treated as a single poem. But there are points where a division

seems to be indicated by the sense and the forms used, and we may detect oracles originally independent in verses 2-3, 4-6 (both *Qinah*), 7-8, 9-12, 13 (a little apocalyptic fragment), 14-16, 17-22 (all in 3:3). To these we should add the song of rejoicing over the return of the exiles in xiv. 1-2, a passage which has clearly suffered in transmission before being included in the collection.

xiv. 3-4a serves as an introduction to the great mocking elegy in *Qinah* over the fall of a tyrant, xiv. 4b-21, one of the most striking and impressive pieces of poetry in the Old Testament—though it is hardly prophecy. It does not follow that this song was a part of the original set of oracles, and there is a tendency to see in it a reference to the death of one of the Assyrian kings—Sennacherib or Sargon. It has even been attributed in some quarters to Isaiah himself, though, obviously, the rest of this little collection must be much later. Verses 22-23 form an appendix to the collection on Babylon.

(b) *Assyria* (xiv. 24-27). Only a single oracle in *Qinah* is included here; it may well have been Isaiah's, and have dated from 701 B.C.

(c) *Philistia* (xiv. 28-32). Again we have only a single oracle in 3:3 whose date has given rise to some discussion. The best date for the death of Ahaz is 725 B.C.¹ The "broken rod" may well be Tiglath-pileser, who died in 727 B.C. His successor, Shalmaneser v, deposed Hoshea in 724 B.C., and it was possibly the preparations for this expedition which called forth this oracle from Isaiah, for its terms do not necessarily require that it should have been uttered immediately after the death of Tiglath-pileser, but only when symptoms of disloyalty manifested themselves.

(d) *Moab* (xv-xvi). Here we have a number of oracles, two of which are found in a parallel collection in the book of *Jeremiah*; both are in a more or less mutilated state in each book. Thus xv. 2b-7a = Jer. xlviii. 34-38, and xvi. 6-11 = Jer. xlviii. 29-33, though with very frequent variations of order and transpositions. It would seem, then, that we have at least three separate poems preserved here, all in

¹ Cp. Oesterley and Robinson, *Hist. of Israel*, I, 459.

Qinah, the first contained in xv. 1-9a, the second in xv. 9b-xvi. 5, and the third in xvi. 6-12, while xvi. 13 forms a concluding note to the whole collection. The problems presented by the text, especially in view of the parallels in Jeremiah, are far too intricate for detailed study at this point.¹

(e) *Damascus (and Israel)* (xvii. 1-11). We have here a series of pieces of which the first only refers to Damascus, while the rest are concerned with Ephraim. The first two oracles, xvii. 1-3 (3:3) and 4-6 (probably *Qinah*), have the "signature," showing their independence of one another. The other two, verses 7-8 (metre uncertain) and 9-11 (3:3) both begin with the eschatological phrase, "In that day." While this may be a compiler's addition, we must not be blind to the possibility that Isaiah himself made use of the expression.

At the close of this little collection we have an oracle in xvii. 12-14 (3:3) which does not obviously refer to any people. It may, however, have been assumed by the compiler to date from the same period as the preceding oracles, i.e. circa 735 B.C.

(f) "*The Land of the Whirring of Wings*" (xviii). A single oracle in 3:3, without a special title, suggests that it was originally attached to that which immediately precedes. On the other hand, it is generally agreed that the reference is to Ethiopia, and the final compiler may have inserted it immediately before the Egyptian collection on this ground. The reference is, apparently, to an Egyptian embassy, perhaps connected with the rebellion against Sargon which led to the fall of Ashdod in 711 B.C., or with the general rising against Sennacherib at the beginning of his reign.²

(g) *Egypt* (xix-xx). Ch. xix opens with three oracles on Egypt, contained in verses 1-4 (3:3), 5-10 (3:3), and 11-15 (originally *Qinah*), respectively. The remainder of the chapter consists of a series of eschatological fragments and short pieces, each introduced by the phrase, "In that

¹ The best discussion in English is to be found in Gray, *Isaiah*, pp. 271-295.

² The XXVIth Dynasty, which was ruling in Egypt when these events took place, was of Ethiopian origin.

day." Two of these, verses 18 and 19-22, are sometimes referred to the Jewish temple erected at Leontopolis in the second century B.C.¹ The acceptance of this view, however, would place the compilation of this section very late indeed.

In ch. xx we have a short biographical passage in prose, describing how Isaiah went for three years lightly clad and barefoot, in order to typify the desolation coming on Egypt.

(h) Two oracles describing the coming fall of Babylon, both in *Qinah* (xxi. 1-5 and 6-10). The first is headed "Burden of the wilderness of the Sea,"² which may be the reason why it was not included in the collection of chs. xiii, xiv.

(i) *Dumah*, a *Qinah* fragment, whose only identifiable reference is to Edom (xxi. 11-12).

(j) *Arabia* (xxi. 13-17). Here again we have a single *Qinah* oracle, with a prose appendix in verses 16 f.

(k) *The Valley of Vision* (xxii). This section is another example of a passage whose position has been determined by its title. In reality it is quite out of place in a collection which deals with foreign nations, since its subject is Jerusalem. The first part of the chapter, verses 1-14, consists of an account of the excitement over some festival, together with the contrast offered by the doom which the prophet foresees (verses 1-5, *Qinah*). This is followed by a series of little pieces, probably fragments, in 6-7 (3:3), 8-11 (the original nucleus has received considerable additions before its inclusion in the collection), and 12-14 (metre irregular). Any of these may have come from the period of Isaiah, perhaps when the armies of Sennacherib were likely to invade the land.

The remainder of ch. xxii deals with a domestic matter, foretelling the disgrace of a high official named Shebna, and the appointment of Eliakim in his place. There seem to be two independent sections; the first (verses 15-23) is a medley of prose and poetry, the latter being, perhaps, the basis on which the whole was built. The second (verses 24-25, *Qinah*) may have been independent, and was probably added

¹ But see below, p. 252.

² The Septuagint omits "of the sea."

here by the compiler owing to the presence of the word "peg."

(i) *Tyre* (xxiii). This collection opens with what appears to be a fairly long poem (verses 1-14, all in *Qinah*), describing the coming doom of Tyre; though it is possible that we should distinguish three oracles in verses 1-5, 6-9, 10-14. This section may well date from Isaiah himself, but the two little passages with which the section ends, verses 15-16 (*Qinah*) and 17-18 (*Qinah*, with an editorial introduction) are almost certainly by a later hand.

(ii) *Date*. As we have seen, this collection contains pieces from very varying dates. Some are, without doubt, to be attributed to Isaiah himself, others clearly come from the period of the Exile, or even later, while there is a strong suspicion that one of them, xix. 19-22, may be as late as the second century B.C. It is not impossible that this is a later interpolation, though we should be reluctant to assume that a prophecy would be added in the middle of a book or of a collection after it had reached a definite shape, for such additions are usually placed at the end. It is possible that the reference in the passage mentioned is not to the Temple at Leontopolis, but to some other; if not to that of Elephantiné, then to one whose existence is otherwise unknown to us. No one suspected the presence of a Jewish temple at Elephantiné until the discovery of the papyri in that spot.

In any case it is clear that the collection could not have been completed till long after the return from the Exile, and we dare not place it earlier than the end of the fifth century B.C. While it is true that nothing in the collection betrays a knowledge of the reforms of Ezra, this may be accidental, and the collection may have reached its present form during or after his time. Probably the end of the fourth century should be regarded as the later limit.

E. Chs. xxiv-xxvii. This section, as its contents will show, belongs to a period centuries later than the time of Isaiah. As in most of our prophetic books, various independent fragments have been combined. The whole section, apart from inserted fragments, is apocalyptic, and, as in so many other instances, contemporary historical events are placed in an eschatological setting.

While scholars in general are agreed as to these points, there are differences of opinion regarding details. Some authorities assign the section to the reign of Darius i Hystaspes (521-486 B.C.), others to the decade 340-330 B.C.; but the developed form of the eschatological presentation, paralleled in the *Sibylline Oracles*, *Daniel*, *Enoch* and other apocalyptic books, as well as the advanced belief in immortality, points rather to 200 B.C., or even later, as the date.¹

The fragments (viz. xxv. 1-5, xxv. 9-12, xxvi. 1-19, xxvii. 2-5, xxvii. 6-11) clearly did not originally belong to their present contexts, so that the original oracle, perhaps not all put together at one time, consisted of xxiv, xxv. 6-8, xxvi. 20-xxvii. 1, 12, 13.²

The contents of the original apocalypse are as follows:

xxiv. The apocalyptist foresees a great catastrophe in the near future; all classes, irrespective of calling or social position, will suffer. The earth, with all its inhabitants, save a small remnant, will be burned. But though the immediate future is so dark, there is hope beyond, for Yahweh will come and punish the powers on high and the kings of the earth; then the moon will be confounded and the sun ashamed; but Yahweh will reign on mount Zion in Jerusalem. The metre varies; verses 1-7 seem to have a *Qinah* base; verses 8-12 are 3:3; 13-14, *Qinah*; 16-20, 3:3; 21-23, *Qinah*.

xxv. 6-8 (3:3) tells of how "on this mountain," i.e. mount Zion, a great feast, i.e. a symbol of the Messianic era, will be held; death shall be done away with, and God "will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the reproach of his people shall be taken away from off all the earth."

xxvi. 20-xxvii. 1, 12, 13 should follow after xxv. 8, where it is prophesied that the reproach of God's people shall be taken away; until then the people are bidden to withdraw "until the indignation be overpast" (xxvi. 20), and in the meantime God will come forth to punish the wicked, and to

¹ Rudolph (*Jesaja*, 24-27 [1933]) assigns these chapters to 330-300 B.C.; he believes that, with unimportant exceptions, they are all from the same hand. For extraneous influence on Jewish eschatology see Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, pp. 344 ff.

² See, among others, Duhm, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Lehmann, in *ZATW* 1917, pp. 1 ff.

destroy the principle of evil symbolized by the primeval sea-monster (cp. Rev. xxi. 1, "and the sea is no more"). The threefold name given to the sea-monster, "leviathan the fleeing serpent," "leviathan the winding serpent," "the dragon that is in the sea," is believed by some commentators to denote three world-powers on the part of the apocalyptist. Media, Babylonia, Egypt, or Media, Persia, Egypt, or Persia, Greece, Egypt, or Parthia, Syria, Egypt; others interpret them as the Sea, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; yet others as the constellations Serpens, Draco, and Hydra. That three world-powers are symbolized is possible, seeing how often the apocalyptists worked current historical events into their eschatological scheme; but which three must depend upon the view taken of the date of the writing.

Ultimately the trumpet shall be sounded for the ingathering of Israel; they will come from Syria¹ and Egypt to worship Yahweh on the holy mountain at Jerusalem. It will thus be seen that by eliminating the inserted portions a logical and straightforward eschatological picture is presented. The metre is uncertain, but was probably 3:3 originally.

As to its date, for the reason already indicated we hold that this little apocalypse belongs to the period of the apocalyptic literature proper, *i.e.* 200 B.C. onwards; hence we agree with Duhm and others who make out a strong case for the latter part of the second century B.C.: "The apocalyptist had witnessed the siege of Jerusalem and the devastation of Judæa by Antiochus vii Sidetes soon after the accession of John Hyrcanus (135); he had also seen the beginning of the Parthian war, and the unfortunate expedition of Antiochus in which the Jews were forced to take part (129)." The note of triumph in xxiv. 16 is occasioned by the defeat of Antiochus; but the apocalyptist cannot join in this because he foresees as a result a Parthian invasion.²

As to the inserted fragments, the historical background of xxv. 1-5 (3:3) and xxvi. 1-19³ seems to be the destruction

¹ In xxvii. 13, "Assyria," as in Zech. x. 10, stands for Syria.

² Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, p. 147 (1914). For an earlier, but post-exilic, date, see Gunkel *ZATW* 1924, pp. 177-208.

³ The metre is uncertain, but the basis seems to be 3:3.

of Samaria by John Hyrcanus, somewhere within the period 113-105 B.C.; "the city of the terrible nation" (xxv. 3) is Rome. The triumphant passage, xxv. 9-12 (probably *Qinah*), may well belong to the time of Alexander Jannæus (102-76 B.C.), who greatly extended the borders of the Jewish kingdom; he subdued, among others, the Moabites (cp. verse 10); in the later part of his reign, it is true, he became very unpopular among his own people; but his earlier conquest of Moab may quite well have been the cause of the joyous outburst of this passage. In the two fragments, xxvii. 2-5 (*Qinah*) and 6-11 (3:3), there seems nothing sufficiently decisive to suggest a date.¹

F. Chaps. xxviii-xxxv. (i) Structure.

(a) Ch. xxviii. This collection opens with the condemnation of the nobility of Samaria (1-4; verses 1-3, *Qinah*; verse 4, 3:3), to which a brief eschatological note has been attached in verses 5-6 (*Qinah*). This is followed by a pair of denunciations of the sins, apparently, of Judah. The first is drunkenness (verses 7-13; mainly *Qinah*), and the second (in which verses 14-19 are in *Qinah*) necromancy. This latter may extend down to verse 22, though the last three verses (3:3) may be a later addition to the original oracle. Verses 23-29 form an interesting passage, describing different methods used in agriculture. The metre seems to have been originally 3:3, though there are signs of redaction which produce a prosaic effect.

(b) Ch. xxix opens with an announcement of the destruction which is to fall on Jerusalem (verses 1-6, where the metre varies). It has been suspected that verse 5 is an interpolation due to a later writer who wished to turn the curse into a blessing. Certainly we may believe that verses 7-8 (*Qinah*) were appended with this object in view. The oracle on the blindness of the people (verses 9-11a) has received a prosaic expansion in 11b-12. In the next short utterances, verses 13-14 (3:3), the hypocrisy of current worship is condemned. Verse 15 is a fragment in which certain politicians are

¹ For a careful study of the text of these chapters see Liebmann in the *ZATW* 1902, pp. 1-56, 285-304; 1903, pp. 209-286; 1904, pp. 51-104; 1905, pp. 145-171.

denounced, and to this, it seems, the very obscure verse 16 has been added. Both are probably to be scanned as *Qinah*. The passage which begins with verse 17 is often held to be post-exilic, largely because of its contrast between the exalted and the humble. While it is true that this contrast is characteristic of a comparatively late post-exilic period, it must not be too hastily assumed that every passage in which it occurs is necessarily late. The general tone, however, of verses 17-24 makes Isaianic authorship improbable. The metre is mainly 3:3, with certain irregularities.

(c) Chs. xxx, xxxi deal mainly (though not exclusively) with Egypt and the proposed alliance with Egypt. It is a little curious that many of the oracles were not included in the collection now found in chs. xiii-xxiii. The pro-Egyptian policy is condemned in xxx. 1-5 (3:3), and the fragment that follows (verses 6-7, 3:3) is directed against Egypt herself. Verses 8-11 (*Qinah*) speak of the writing down of the last message, and 12-14 (*Qinah*) threaten the people with complete punishment. These last two sections might have a general reference, but the oracle in verses 15-17 (*Qinah*) is once more directed against the Egyptian alliance. Verses 18-26 are a promise of restoration and an assurance of the continued care of Yahweh, which are almost certainly post-exilic and appear to be cast into rhetorical prose, though metre may sometimes be observed, e.g. in verse 18 (3:3). The remaining verses of the chapter contain three short utterances—verses 27-28 (*Qinah*), 29-30 (3:3?), 31-33 (3:3)—which may have come from the time of Sennacherib's return to Assyria after the campaign of 701 B.C. Ch. xxxi contains three pieces, in verses 1-3 (3:3), a condemnation of the pro-Egyptian policy, 4-5 (*Qinah*), to which 6 and 7 (3:3) have been added later, and 8-9 (3:3), which predict the destruction of the Assyrian army. It is possible that the latter part of verse 9 is an addition, but, with the exception of this and verses 6-7, the three oracles are probably due to Isaiah himself.

(d) Ch. xxxii opens with a Messianic oracle in verses 1-5, followed by a later addition in verses 6-8—all in 3:3.

Verses 9-14 (*Qinah*) are a denunciation of the women of Jerusalem, in which some commentators find so strong a contrast to the treatment of the same theme in iii. 16-iv. 1 as to be convinced that the present passage is not the work of Isaiah. Verses 15-20 (3:3) are a fragment, mutilated at the beginning, which depict the glory of the coming new age. Here it seems impossible either to affirm or to deny Isaianic authorship.

(e) Ch. xxxiii consists, in the main, of a poem, we might almost say a psalm, which first pleads for deliverance from an oppressor, and then commemorates the deliverance when it comes. This is, by general consent, a post-exilic composition, but verse 1, a fragment which seems to stand as a text on which the psalm has been composed, does more resemble the style of Isaiah. The metre is irregular, and suggests that the poem is a late compilation from several sources—perhaps much expanded in course of time.

But there is considerable difference of opinion regarding the interpretation, and therefore the date, of this self-contained chapter. Many commentators insist on a pre-exilic date and maintain that it is to be read in the light of the episode recounted in ii Kgs. xviii. 14-37, in which case the date would be 701 B.C.; but in view of verse 8, "he hath broken the covenant," this opinion can hardly stand, for Hezekiah, not Sennacherib, was the one who broke the covenant. Others are on stronger ground in regarding the chapter as late; Duhm dates it in the year 162 B.C., and sees in the enemy Antiochus Eupator; and it must be said that on reading i Macc. vi. 18-63 there is a good deal of justification for his contention. There is much in the thought and language of the chapter which marks it as late; and the eschatology, taken in conjunction with this, further supports a Maccabæan date.

(f) Ch. xxxiv is distinctly eschatological in tone, though it does not suggest the latest forms of Jewish eschatology. It describes the destruction of the hostile nations, especially of Edom, and often recalls ch. lxiii. The metre varies, being *Qinah* in verses 1-5a, 3:3 in 5b-8, *Qinah* in 9, and 3:3 again in verses 10-17.

(g) Ch. xxxv offers the other side of the picture, and in some ways resembles the prophecies of the period of the Return. It can hardly be later than the time of Ezra, and the picture of the safe journey reminds us of Ezra's refusal to demand a convoy from the Persian king (Ezra viii. 22). The metre is a fairly regular 3:3.

(ii) *Date*. Once more we have a collection including pieces from different periods, ranging from the eighth century, possibly down to the second. The vagueness characteristic of the later passages makes it very difficult to attempt an exact dating, but, if Duhm's date for ch. xxxiii be accepted, we must assume that the end of the second century B.C. is the earliest period to which we can assign the work of the final collector of the whole group.

G. Chaps. xxxvi-xxxix.¹ In these chapters we have an historical appendix to the whole book of Isaianic collections. They deal with events in the reign of Hezekiah, in which the prophet took a prominent part, and they are largely duplicated in ii Kgs. xviii. 13-xx. 19. There are differences between the two passages, among which the most important are (a) the absence of the account of Hezekiah's submission (ii Kgs. xviii. 14-16) from the text of *Isaiah*, and (b) the presence in Isa. xxxviii 9-20 of Hezekiah's song of thanksgiving. There are also, as is to be expected, minor differences of text and arrangement. It is commonly held that the chapters in *Isaiah* are directly taken from the book of *Kings*, but it seems more in harmony with what we know of the growth of Hebrew literature to suppose that there existed a collection of the acts of Isaiah (the biographical matter that we have so often elsewhere in the prophets), and that this was employed both by the compiler of *Kings* and by the final compiler of *Isaiah*. The psalm in xxxviii. 9-20 is not wholly suitable to its present position, and is best regarded as a post-exilic composition. It was included comparatively late in the narrative, or it would have appeared in *Kings*; but, again, we have no reason to bring its composition down below the fourth century B.C. This will give us the *terminus ad quem* for the whole section.

¹ These chapters are mainly in prose (type B), but we have a song of triumph in xxxvii. 22-34 (mainly *Qinah*) and a psalm in xxxviii. 9-20 (also *Qinah*).

Summary and Conclusions. We have now seen that the book of *Isaiah*, down to the end of ch. xxxix, was produced by the combination of no less than seven different earlier collections. The last of these is mainly historical prose, but the rest are composed normally of oracular matter, with certain exceptions, especially in the third collection. The first collection contains nothing that cannot come from *Isaiah* himself, while the fifth is wholly composed of much later material. The others consist of matter ranging from the eighth to the fifth (possibly even the second) century, and the date of the compilation of most of them seems to have been during the first half of the fourth century. It is to much the same period—naturally towards the end of it—that we should attribute the gathering together of the various collections and their formation into the book as we now have it. It is not impossible that later insertions may have been made after the main work of compilation, but it would be more natural for these to have been placed at the end than at the beginning, and we cannot attribute to this process more than occasional notes and comments which might have been inserted in the margin and incorporated by a copyist. We shall be justified in believing that by 300 B.C. the book existed substantially as we have it to-day, though we must allow for the possibility that the compilation did not take place till the first century, B.C.

V. THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

Like *Hosea*, and unlike *Amos* and *Micah*, *Isaiah* was essentially a man of the city. His home was in Jerusalem, and, though he was not unfamiliar with the life and work of the farmer, it was within the walls of a town that his days were spent and his work was done. He was, further, in some sense a courtier, familiar with the nobles,¹ and, to some extent, recognized and trusted by the kings. With them he is perfectly fearless, and does not hesitate to speak the plain truth, whether in condemnation or approval. His words are received with respect, even though his advice is not always followed. Tradition² records the martyrdom

¹ Cp. viii. 2, xxii. 15-25.

² Cp. *The Martyrdom of Isaiah*, v-x; and see the epistle to the *Hebrews*. xi. 27.

of Isaiah in the reign of Manasseh, but, as far as we know, during the period of his active ministry he suffered no kind of persecution.

Isaiah's literary abilities were of a very high order. We have few pieces of prose in any language which can be compared with the account of his call in ch. vi, and his short impulsive lyrics have an extraordinary beauty and power. We are impressed by the vigour which marks his account of the enemy's advance in x. 28-32, by the pathos which finds expression in the lament over the desolate land (i. 4-9), the passionate denunciation of injustice and oppression (cp. v. 8-10), the bitter scorn of the heartless and fashionable women (*e.g.* iii. 16-26), and the tender appeal of the great evangelical invitation in i. 18-21. All the features of great poetry are here—sincerity, honesty, depth of feeling, beauty of expression; and while Isaiah never knew the spiritual anguish which gave such poignancy to the utterances of Hosea and Jeremiah, his words are more often read and more truly loved than those of any other prophet, save only the great anonymous writer of the Exile, whose prophecies are appended to this book.

Isaiah was at one with his great predecessor, Amos, and with his equally great contemporary, Hosea, in the main outlines of his teaching. Like them he insisted on such doctrines as the supremacy of Yahweh, the demand for morality and the futility of sacrifice as a substitute for righteousness. From his call-vision in ch. vi, however, we gather that the dominant thought in his scheme of thinking was the holiness of Yahweh. He stood apart from all gods, and Israel must stand apart from all nations. Isaiah advocated complete abstention from the political entanglements of his age, and saw that the only hope for Judah's safety lay in her holding aloof from other nations. This, however, does not seem to have sprung from an appreciation of the international situation, so much as from his conviction that Israel must deal with Yahweh alone—she must be holy to Him. If she interfered in world politics, she would be contaminated by contact with other deities, and would lose the protection that purity might have secured for her.

Yet Judah went her own way, and followed the path which led, in the end, to her doom. But Isaiah could not believe in her final extinction. Yahweh needed a people for His self-expression, and for that purpose, whatever happened to Israel a "remnant" must survive. The nation could not wholly perish, and though sin would inevitably result in appalling suffering, a spiritual nucleus would still exist.

Closely allied to the doctrine of the "remnant" is another which, as far as we know, first manifested itself in the teaching of Isaiah. This was a belief in the coming of an ideal king, who should rule over his people in strict accordance with the principles of Yahweh. The Messiah, however, is not yet an eschatological figure; he has no connexion with the great day of Yahweh. He is to be simply an earthly monarch, whose righteous government is to restore happiness and prosperity to his people. Thus was born a doctrine which was to develop into one of the most significant beliefs of the Jewish people in centuries yet to come.

VI. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

On the whole, the text of the book of *Isaiah* has not been badly preserved. The history of the prophetic writings in general meant that they were more subject than other parts of the Bible to textual corruption, which may often have taken place even before the collections of oracles were completed. We have, for instance, a number of oracles which are clearly mutilated, and there is no reason to doubt that this mutilation took place before the passages in question came into the hands of the collectors.

The only version that needs consideration is the Septuagint. This, however, is less helpful in *Isaiah* than in some other books, since it is often free, sometimes even paraphrastic. It is thus difficult to be sure what the original Hebrew was, as it lay before the translators. There is, nevertheless, a number of passages in which it may help us to improve the text as it now lies before us in our Hebrew Bibles.¹

¹ The Greek text has been edited by R. R. Ottley, *Isaiah according to the Septuagint*, Vol. I (1904, 1909), Vol. II (1906).

ISAIAH XL-LV (DEUTERO-ISAIAH)

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

IN the year 549 B.C., Cyrus, king of Anshan, a vassal-state of Astyages, king of Media, revolted against his suzerain and conquered him; he became thus ruler of the Perso-Median empire. In fear of the rising power of Cyrus three kings formed an alliance with the object of stemming his further advance: Croesus, king of the Lydians, Nabonidus, king of Babylonia, and Amasis, king of Egypt. The first of these was conquered by Cyrus in 546 B.C., whereby the whole of Asia Minor came under his rule; Egypt was, for the time being, left unmolested; ¹ in 539-8 B.C. Babylon fell. The *Chronicle of Nabonidus* records as follows:—"On the 16th (of the month Tishri = October) Ugbaru (Gobryas) the governor of Gutium and the troops of Cyrus entered Babylon without a battle. . . . In Marcheswan (= November) on the 3rd, Cyrus entered Babylon. . . . There was peace in the city. Cyrus proclaimed peace to Babylon, to everyone."

The period covered by these chapters is probably from 549 to 538 B.C.),² i.e. from Cyrus' victory over Astyages to the eve of the capture of Babylon; the actual fall of the city is not mentioned.

¹ It was conquered by Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, in 525 B.C.

² Torrey (*The Second Isaiah* [1928]) does not believe that any part of Isa. xl-lxvi was written during the Exile; he assigns the whole to about 400 B.C., Palestine being the place of origin. The references to Cyrus, Babylon, and Chaldaea he simply cuts out, maintaining that the metre of the passages in which they occur shows them to be later interpolations. He sums up his position thus:—"Second Isaiah is indeed a prophecy of release from bondage and a triumphant return of 'exiles' to Jerusalem by sea and land; but the prophet is looking to the ends of the earth, not to Babylonia. There is indeed prediction, definite and many times repeated, of the speedy advent of a great conqueror and deliverer, the restorer of Israel and benefactor of the world; but the prophet is speaking of the Anointed Servant of the Lord, the Son of David, not the son of Cambyses" (p. 37). That Torrey has found but few scholars to agree with him cannot cause surprise.

The references in these chapters to the historical background are as follows:¹

xli. 2: "Who aroused from the east him whom victory meeteth at every step, that delivereth up nations before him, and bringeth down kings? His sword maketh them like dust, his bow driveth them away like chaff. He pursueth them, he passeth on—Peace (*i.e.* his victories bring peace, see the quotation from the *Nabonidus Chronicle*, above); he doth not tread the pathway with his feet" (in xlv. 11 Cyrus is compared with a ravenous bird, so swift and sweeping in his progress).

These graphic words must refer, in the first instance, to Cyrus' victory over Astyages, king of the Medes; he came from Anshan, which lay to the east of Babylonia. The passage also refers to the defeat of Croesus, king of the Lydians, and Cyrus' acquisition of Asia Minor.

xli. 25: "I aroused up one from the north, and he came from the rising of the sun (east). I called him by his name (see xlv. 3, cp. also xliii. 1)." The north refers to Media, which lay north-east of Babylonia; the east is again in reference to Anshan.

xliii. 3: "I give Egypt as thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba in place of thee." The reference is again to Cyrus, who is to receive the whole of Africa, as then known, as compensation for letting the exiles go free. Our records, unfortunately, give no information as to what occurred after Cyrus' defeat of Croesus; the prophet, presumably, expected that Egypt would suffer the same fate as Lydia; but Cyrus did not conquer Egypt; that was left to his son Cambyses to accomplish.

xliv. 28: "... that saith of Cyrus, 'My shepherd,' and all my requirement shall he perform." For "shepherd" in the sense of "ruler" see, *e.g.*, Jer. iii. 15; the passage means that Cyrus rules by the will of Yahweh.² The remainder of this verse: "even saying of Jerusalem, Let

¹ The renderings here given differ in some cases from the Revised Version, which does not always take the corruptions in the Hebrew text into account, and sometimes misses the point of the original.

² Perhaps, by a difference of pointing, we should read, "My friend."

her be built, and of the Temple, Let its foundations be laid," would imply that these words were written after Cyrus' decree, permitting the return of the exiles (see Ezra i. 2-4, vi. 1 ff.), had been put forth, *i.e.* after the fall of Babylon; that is highly improbable, and doubtless those commentators are right who hold that the words have been misplaced and that they came originally after verse 26 (emended) thus: ". . . that saith of Jerusalem, She shall be inhabited; and of the waste places thereof, I will raise them up; yea, that saith of Jerusalem, Let her be built, and of the Temple, Let its foundations be laid."

xliv. 1-4. This is too long to quote; it speaks of Cyrus as Yahweh's anointed and describes his victorious progress.

xliv. 9-13. This is also too long to quote; it is a rebuke to those who take exception to Cyrus being the instrument of Yahweh; the passage ends with the words: "I raised him up in righteousness, and I will make straight all his ways; he shall build my city, and he shall let my exiles go free. . . ."

xlvi. 1-2. This fragment, which also reflects the historical background, has a special interest of its own; it stands isolated, being unconnected with what precedes as well as with what follows, and the Hebrew text can hardly be in order. The prophet is so certain of the now impending fall of Babylon that he speaks of this as having already come to pass; the verbs are all in the perfect. It may be rendered thus: "Bel hath stooped down (cp. Gen. xlix. 9), Nebo hath crouched down; their images are for beasts, for beasts of burden; their things which were carried about (a contemptuous reference to the images) are become loads—a burden for weary (beasts). They (*i.e.* Bel and Nebo) have crouched down, they have stooped down (both) together, they were not able to rescue the burden (*i.e.* these gods could not deliver their own images), they are gone into captivity." The meaning then is that when Babylon fell the worshippers of Bel and Nebo, the tutelary deities of the city, attempted to escape with these images; but they failed in this, and the gods, *i.e.* their images, were carried captive. In this last particular, however, the

prophet was mistaken, for Cyrus was careful not to interfere with the religious beliefs of conquered peoples; on one of his inscriptions he says: "I returned the gods to their shrines."¹

Illustrative of the historical background is also the long passage containing a prophecy of the downfall of Babylon (xlvi, cp. also xlviii. 14, 15).

The passages so far considered refer to the external historical conditions; we have next to point to those which reflect the circumstances under which the Jews were living.

xliii. 14. That the Hebrew text is corrupt is clear even from the R.V. rendering, which is meaningless; many emendations have been suggested with more or less plausibility, but certainty as to what the original text read is out of the question; the following has some points in its favour:—"This saith Yahweh, your redeemer, the Holy One of Israel: For your sake I have sent to Babylon, and I will bring down the *bars of the prison house* (i.e. Babylon); and (as for) the Chaldeans, I *will still their shouting with sighs*."² The mention of Babylon is, in any case, indisputable; and this is the first direct reference to it in these chapters. Yahweh is about to send Cyrus to Babylon to release the Jews from captivity.

xlvi. 20: "Go forth from Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans . . . say ye, Yahweh hath redeemed his servant Jacob." In two other passages (lii. 11, 12; lv. 12), although Babylon is not mentioned by name, it is obvious that the prophet is thinking of the city when he bids the exiles go forth.

Further, various passages speak of the return from captivity in the near future (xliii. 5, li. 11, 14, 21-23; lii. 7-9), while others refer implicitly to the Exile (xl. 2, xlii. 14, xlviii. 10 and others).

We are left, therefore, in not the slightest doubt that the historical background points to the eve of the Exile as the period to which these chapters (xl-lv) belong.

It is, however, possible to indicate more precisely the

¹ Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, p. 250 (1929).

² וְהוֹרַדְתִּי בְרִיחִי כָלָא וְכִשְׂרִים וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי בְּאֲנִיּוֹת רָנָתָם :

time during which the prophet uttered these poems. On closer examination it is seen that the whole collection consists of two main divisions: xl-xlvi repeatedly speaks of the downfall of Babylon; and Cyrus, as we have seen, is mentioned as the conqueror, either directly or implicitly referred to as such. But in xlix-lv no mention is made either of Babylon or of Cyrus. This can be accounted for only on the supposition that the two sets of poems do not belong to precisely the same period.

It may, therefore, be gathered that xl-xlvi belong to the time immediately preceding the fall of Babylon; Cyrus had begun his Babylonian campaign; by his victory over the Akkadians at Opis, on the Tigris, north of Babylon, and by his capture, a fortnight later, of Sippar, only fifty miles from the capital, the prophet knew that the end was in sight. The other set of poems (xlix-lv) would then have been uttered after the fall of the city, which would explain why the prophet does not mention it; instead of this he says: "Depart ye, depart ye, go out from thence; touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean, ye that bear the vessels of Yahweh" (lii. 11; see also li. 14, lv. 12).¹ That the exiles would not have departed immediately after the fall of the city is evident, for they could not have done so until Cyrus had issued his decree permitting this; the decree was put forth in the same year as the fall of the city; but it is not known in what month.²

In support of what has been said it may also be pointed out that there is a difference of characteristic between the two sets of poems: xl-xlvi deal more pronouncedly with the relationship between Yahweh and His people, whereas xlix-lv speak more of that between Yahweh and Jerusalem, or Zion, the goal of the exiles, which after the fall of Babylon would be the more prominent thought in the mind of the prophet. In the earlier group, moreover,

¹ The command to go forth from Babylon occurs also at the close of the earlier set of poems, xlviii. 20, 21, which would suggest that these verses really belong to the later set.

² When it is said in Ezra vi. 2 that this decree was found at Acmetha, *i.e.* Ecbatana, in Media, it does not follow that Cyrus issued it from there.

there is much stress laid on the folly of idolatry and of comparing any god with Yahweh;¹ this was doubtless needed so long as the exiles were settled among the Babylonians; but in the later group idolatry is not mentioned, nor was there any need for this now that the exiles were about to depart. And finally, there is in the later group a more fully expressed and eager looking forward to the return to the homeland than in the earlier, pointing therefore to its greater imminence.

II. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF ISA. XL-LV

These chapters contain a number of independent poetical pieces; a sequence of thought is, however, often to be observed. In the following table these various little poems are enumerated, but it is recognized that in some cases there are differences of opinion as to their precise scope, some scholars would further subdivide a few of the poems. It must also be pointed out that no detailed discussion of the intricate metrical problems presented by these chapters is here possible. The metre indicated for each section is that which predominates within it, and must not be understood as implying that there is necessarily no variation from it in our present text.

xl. 1-11. Mainly in the *Qinah* measure (3:2), though there are considerable irregularities. It is a message of consolation, introductory to others which follow, proclaiming to the exiles that the time of release is at hand. Verses 9-11 should probably come after verse 5, since they continue the tone of hope and exultation, whereas verses 6-8 speak of the transitoriness of human life, a subject which comes inappropriately between verses 5 and 9.

xl. 12-17. An almost regular 3:3 measure. The great things in the physical world are as nothing in the sight of Yahweh; similarly, all the nations of the earth are nothing accounted of in His sight.

xl. 18-20. To this xli. 6, 7 evidently belongs; the whole

¹ See xl. 18-26; xli. 6, 7, 21-29; xliv. 9-20; xlv. 1, 2; cp. also xlii. 17; xlv. 16, 20.

is again 3:3. It speaks of the folly of comparing graven images with God.

xl. 21-26. Partly *Qinah* and partly 3:3; possibly we have here two fragments, verses 21-24, and 25, 26. The subject is the omnipotence of Yahweh, the Creator of all things.

xl. 27-31. Mostly 3:3, but there is some slight irregularity; the change at the beginning of verse 28 to 2:2, "Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard," is very effective; the 3:3 continues immediately after. The little poem protests that Israel's fear of being ignored by Yahweh is groundless. He is from of old, and mighty in power, and gives strength to those who wait upon Him.

xli. 1-5. 3:3; as already pointed out, verses 6, 7 do not belong here. It speaks of Yahweh's lordship over all nations, illustrated by His raising up Cyrus to do His will.

xli. 8-16. The metre is somewhat varied, partly 3:3 (verses 8-10, 14-16), partly *Qinah* (verses 11-13). God's love and care for His people; Israel's enemies will be overthrown.

xli. 17-20. While 3:3 predominates, there is some irregularity. It contains a description of how the wilderness will be turned into a fruitful land when the exiles pass through it on their way to the homeland.

xli. 21-29. The metre again alternates between 3:3 and *Qinah*; but there are some textual corruptions. Its theme is the nothingness of idols; in contrast to them Yahweh foresees and foreordains all things; an illustration of this is the advent of Cyrus.

xl. 1-4. Regular 3:3. The first "Servant of the Lord" song.

xl. 5-9. The metre alternates between 3:3 and 2:2:2 in verses 6 and 9. The theme of the poem is the loving-kindness of Yahweh towards His people.

xl. 10-13. A slightly irregular 3:3 poem, calling upon the physical world to give glory to Yahweh, the Mighty One.

xl. 14-17. The metre is very irregular, 3:3 and 3:2 seem to have been used originally, but some textual corruptions have made havoc with any regular metre. The poet

tells of how in the past Yahweh had been silent while His people suffered (*e.g.* Assyrian invasions and the Captivity); but now He is about to show forth His mercy to His people.

xlii. 18-25. A variety of textual corruptions in this piece have again disturbed the metre; probably it was originally composed of 3:3 and the *Qinah* metre. It is a lament over Israel's spiritual blindness and deafness.

xliii. 1-7. Again an intermixture of 3:3 and *Qinah* with some other irregularities. Israel is about to be released from captivity, and with them those of the Dispersion will be brought back to the home-land.

xliii. 8-13. Though there are some irregularities, the main metre is 3:3. Israel, the people of Yahweh, are witnesses of His Unity.

xliii. 14, 15. This isolated fragment is in regular 3:3 metre. It takes up again the subject of Yahweh as the Redeemer of His people.

xliii. 16-21. The usual 3:3 metre occurs here again, though with some irregularity. The subject is God's mercy in bringing His people home through the wilderness.

xliii. 22-28. A fairly regular 3:3. Israel's ingratitude to Yahweh in spite of His having chosen them as His people; therefore punishment must inevitably come upon the nation.

xliv. 1-5. The metre is, more or less, *Qinah*. In spite of Israel's sin Yahweh will pour His spirit upon His people; as a consequence the Gentiles will join themselves to the people of God, and call upon Yahweh.

xliv. 6-8. To this section, in 3:3, it is probable that verses 21, 22 belong. The theme is the Oneness of Yahweh; because Israel is His servant their sins shall be blotted out.

xliv. 9-20. This is a prose section, and probably a later insertion; it deals with the folly of idolatry.

xliv. 21, 22. Somewhat irregular *Qinah*; it belongs to verses 6-8.

xliv. 23. An isolated fragment with irregular metre.

xliv. 24-xlv. 7. The metre in this comparatively long section is varied, 3:3 and *Qinah* predominate. Cyrus, the instrument of Yahweh, has been chosen for the sake of

Israel. It is by Yahweh that he has been called, and by no other God.

xliv. 8. An isolated fragment in 3 : 3 metre. The Creatorship of Yahweh.

xliv. 9-13. The metre is again irregular, 3 : 3 predominating. Yahweh is justified in His choice of Cyrus. Evidently spoken against some who questioned the propriety of a Gentile ruler being chosen by Yahweh.

xliv. 14-17. Irregular metre. To Israel alone has Yahweh revealed Himself.

xliv. 18-25. The metre is again irregular, but *Qinah* predominates. A striking poem dealing with the Oneness and righteousness of Yahweh; the Gentiles are called upon to worship Him.

xlvi. 1-4. In the main 3 : 3. The gods of Babylon are carried in flight from the foe, but they cannot escape; in contrast to this it is told how Yahweh carried His people Israel in the past, and will deliver them now.

xlvi. 5-13. The irregular metre alternates between 3 : 3 and *Qinah*; it is evident that verses 6-8 are out of place here; their content shows this; they must be a late insertion. The theme is again the Oneness of Yahweh; His will is supreme, and in accordance with this Israel is about to be delivered from captivity by Cyrus.

xlvi. A taunt-song of triumph over Babylon in *Qinah* measure.

xlvi. 1-11. Mainly 3 : 3, but the text has suffered through glosses. The poem deals with the stiff-neckedness of Israel; nevertheless, God will have mercy upon His people for His name's sake.

xlvi. 12-16. The metre is irregular possibly owing to textual corruption; 3 : 3 predominates. The theme is again the Oneness of Yahweh; it is by His will, and by His will alone, that Cyrus is about to conquer Babylon.

xlvi. 17-19. *Qinah*. Yahweh taught Israel, but Israel would not hearken, therefore punishment was meted out.

xlvi. 20-22. Irregular metre, with *Qinah* predominating. Verse 22 is clearly an editorial addition. The exiles are bidden to go forth from Babylon.

xlix. 1-6. Mainly 3:3. The second "Servant of the Lord" song.

xlix. 7-12. *Qinah* in verse 7, the rest 3:3. Though Israel has been oppressed and despised, yet will Yahweh re-establish her, and she shall be an object of wonder to the Gentiles.

xlix. 13. An isolated fragment in irregular measure; but possibly an introduction to the poem which follows. Heaven and earth are called upon to rejoice, for Yahweh has shown compassion on His people.

xlix. 14-21. Irregular metre, varying between 3:3 and *Qinah*. A message of comfort to Israel, telling of Yahweh's loving-kindness.

xlix. 22-26. There is a break after verse 24, but the whole is 3:3. A promise that Israel's children shall be restored to her; they shall be brought by the Gentiles; kings shall do honour to her; the enemies of Israel shall be punished; but Yahweh will redeem His people.

l. 1-3. Irregular metre, with 3:3 predominating. A message of comfort to Israel; she was, indeed, punished for her sins, but Yahweh is, nevertheless, ready, in His mercy, to receive her.

l. 4-11. *Qinah*. The third "Servant of the Lord" song.

li. 1-8. Mostly 3:3, but with some irregularities. Yahweh's blessing on those who follow after righteousness. His salvation shall be for all the world; the evil-doers shall not prevail.

li. 9-11. Alternation between *Qinah* and 3:3. An appeal to Yahweh to show forth His might as in primeval times.

li. 12-16. The metre is similar to the preceding. A song of comfort for Israel which is put into the mouth of Yahweh.

li. 17-lii. 12. The metre in this poem is very varied; *Qinah* seems to predominate, but li. 21, 22 are in 3:3, and lii. 1, 2 are prose. Jerusalem's sufferings in the past are recorded; but now her redemption is proclaimed.

lii. 13-liii. 12. With a few variations the metre is 3:3. The fourth "Servant of the Lord" song.

liv. 1-6. *Qinah* and 3:3. A song of comfort for Zion.

liv. 7-10. Almost wholly 3:3. The theme is the same as in the preceding piece; the loving-kindness of Yahweh shall never cease.

liv. 11-14. The metre is again 3:3, but in this case carried right through. The future glory of Zion is depicted.

liv. 15-17. Metre very irregular. Zion's permanent safety is prophesied.

lv. 1-5. Irregular metre, but, apparently, with a 3:3 basis. An invitation to the people to accept Yahweh's blessings, which are freely given.

lv. 6-13. The metre varies between 3:3 (verses 6-11) and *Qinah* (verses 12, 13). A beautiful little poem calling upon the people to seek Yahweh; His mercy, like His glory, is everlasting.

In most cases these poems, in their originally *spoken* form, were doubtless much longer; they would, therefore, seem to be a collection of brief summaries of the prophet's addresses, delivered at different times, and, likely enough, made by himself; in some cases, as will have been seen, a fuller form of the address has been written down.¹ This would seem to be the best way to account for the number of independent pieces on the one hand, and a certain grouping together of subject-matter on the other.

III. THE PROPHET AND HIS TEACHING

Of the life of the prophet his writings give us no information. It is highly probable that he lived in Babylon, though that he always addresses the exiles would not necessarily prove this; more convincing is his intimate knowledge of the manner of life of the Babylonians (xlvi. 8. ff.), and of Babylonian religion (xlvi. 1), and astrology (xlvi. 13-15); these passages suggest first-hand knowledge. Further, as

¹ This is not to be understood as implying that our records are in any way incorrect or deficient in essentials. The essence of the message is always there, though the prophet, when speaking face to face with all and sundry, probably delivered it in a form considerably more extensive than that which appears in our Bibles. My collaborator, Dr. Robinson, is, however, unable to agree with me on this point, and still holds it to be more probable that the words ascribed to the prophet in the Bible do (except where, as often happens, an oracle has been mutilated in the course of transmission) represent *verbatim* what the prophet said, on each occasion, as he delivered the message divinely communicated to him.—W. O. E. O.

Meinhold has pointed out,¹ the anonymity of the writer supports this; there would have been no reason for his name to be concealed had he lived in Palestine, whereas in Babylon this was necessary; had the writer of much that occurs in these chapters, especially xlvii, been identified, his career would soon have been cut short. And perhaps most convincing of all is the prophet's familiarity with certain expressions and modes of address which are specifically Babylonian; details of this cannot be given here,² but the use of these is a strong argument in favour of the prophet having lived in Babylon.³

The outstanding subjects of "Deutero-Isaiah's" teaching are, firstly, his conception of God; it is true to say that we have here the most exalted teaching in the whole of the Old Testament; his monotheism is explicit as never before, and his words concerning the greatness and omnipotence of God are unrivalled. Secondly, his teaching on the regeneration of the people; here, while following in the footsteps of earlier prophets, he handles the subject independently and develops it in a way peculiar to himself. And thirdly, his universalistic conceptions; this, again, while not in itself new, surpasses in its wideness all that had previously been taught.⁴

But, apart from the first of these, the most striking and specific teaching of this prophet is contained in the "Servant of the Lord" poems (xlii. 1-4, xlix. 1-6, l. 4-9, lii. 13-14, liii. 12). Each of these four pieces stands independent and could be taken out of its present position without affecting the contents. In assigning the authorship of these poems to Deutero-Isaiah, we do not lose sight of the fact that opinions vary on the subject; much can be urged for and against his authorship; either view can claim a number of outstanding authorities in its favour, supported by cogent arguments; and, naturally enough, such arguments appeal

¹ *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, p. 273 (1932).

² See Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, pp. 250 ff., 305 ff. (1905).

³ The suggestions of his having lived in northern Syria, or in Egypt, do not carry conviction.

⁴ These subjects are more fully dealt with in the present writers' *Hebrew Religion*, pp. 259-270 (1930).

with differing force to different minds. But who the writer of these poems was is a matter of less importance than the teaching they contain; briefly summarized this may be stated as follows: in the first poem (xlii. 1-4) the Servant, the chosen one of God, will, by means of the divine spirit of which he is the recipient, proclaim the message of truth and righteousness to the world; in the second poem (xlix. 1-6) this universalistic note is further emphasized; the Servant is described as one, who through apparent failure in toiling among his own people, will, by divine help, become not only the saviour of them, but will also be for salvation to the whole earth; the third poem (l. 4-11) tells of the Servant's suffering for bearing witness to God, but with the help of God all his adversaries will be put to shame; and in the last poem (lii. 13-liii. 12) he is depicted as a leper and martyr who lays down his life for others, but who will be raised from death by God to complete his work for his fellow-men.

The identity of the Servant, whether representing the nation of Israel personified or an individual, is again a matter of divided opinions; but this, as well as that of the authorship of the poems, is a special study which cannot be dealt with in detail here.¹

IV. LANGUAGE AND STYLE OF ISA. XL-LV

It has been pointed out that the form in which the writings of "Deutero-Isaiah" are composed is poetical; that the Hebrew in which they are written is so pure shows that in spite of their foreign surroundings the Jews preserved their language uncontaminated. The style of the writing is for the most part simple and straightforward, and usually easy to understand. At the same time, in reading through these chapters one cannot help experiencing a certain sense of monotony on account of the reiteration of the same subjects; this is, however, to be explained by the fact, already mentioned, that we have here summaries of discourses uttered at different times, all being independent

¹ See further, Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, pp. 264 ff.

pieces; they were never intended to be read as a unity; the prophet had a certain number of outstanding themes which filled his mind, and these found frequent expression when he addressed his people. This must be borne in mind when reading these chapters.¹

V. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

In general, the text has come down to us in a remarkably good state; there are a certain number of corruptions, and one or two displacements due to copyists; various instances occur of later additions, a feature common to all the Biblical books, but as a rule they are fairly obvious.

For a rectification of the corrupt passages the Septuagint is often of great help; one or two illustrations of this will be of interest: at the end of xl. 19 there is a meaningless phrase² which disturbs the rhythm and may possibly be the corrupt remnant of a marginal note which found its way into the text; the Septuagint omits it altogether. The Hebrew text of xl. 20 reads: "He that is impoverished a heave-offering wood that doth not rot he chooseth"; the Septuagint, without which it would be difficult to make anything of this, reads, "He who prepares a likeness," i.e. he who sets up an image, "chooseth wood . . ."; moreover, the Septuagint enables us to see what the original Hebrew text read, and how easily, owing to the similarity of the letters, the corruption arose. Another illustration may be given which occurs in xlii. 19; taking the Hebrew text as it stands it reads: "Who is blind, but my servant, and deaf, like my messenger (whom) I send? Who is blind like one that is recompensed, and blind like the servant of Yahweh?" In view of what has been said at the beginning of the chapter about the servant of Yahweh, this reads very strangely, apart from the obvious lack of sense in the passage. Following the Septuagint this verse should be read: "Who is blind like my servants (plur. i.e. the Israelites), and deaf like their rulers?" (i.e. Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah,

¹ Mowinckel's careful study, *Die Komposition des deuterocesajanischen Buches*, in *ZATW*, 1931, pp. 87-112, 242-260, should be consulted.

² The R.V. paraphrases it: "and casteth (for it) silver chains."

largely owing to whose folly the Exile came about). The Septuagint, following the original form of the Hebrew text, makes the passage full of significance. Other illustrations could be given, and there are also a number of less important cases in which, following the Septuagint, a single word, emended, gives point to the text.

It will thus be realized how extremely important the Septuagint is for the study of these chapters. On the other hand, the Septuagint, in many instances, gives fantastic renderings, having clearly misunderstood the Hebrew. The outcome is that, while we cannot afford to do without the Septuagint, it must be used with caution and discrimination.¹

¹ A valuable contribution is offered to the subject by Zillesen in *ZATW*, 1902, pp. 238-263; 1903, pp. 49-86.

ISAIAH LVI—LXVI (TRITO-ISAIAH)

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE external history of the times to which these chapters belong, *i.e.* 538 B.C. onwards (see further § IV), does not offer any help in understanding them, nor does it throw any light on them. Nowhere is there any allusion to what was happening in the outside world; the suzerain power, so far as our knowledge goes, does not seem to have interfered with the Jews in any way to their detriment. Darius i (522–486 B.C.) was largely occupied with the organization of his empire into satrapies, with the Scythian and other campaigns, and later with wars against the Greeks. Practically the whole of the reign of Xerxes i (485–465 B.C.) was taken up with struggles against the Greeks on land and sea; these continued during the reign of Artaxerxes i (464–424 B.C.), who also had serious trouble with Egypt.

It can thus be well understood that the Persian rulers were too much occupied in other parts of their empire to concern themselves much about Palestine, nor was there any need for this, since the Jews were in no position to attempt to throw off Persian suzerainty; it is not until the reign of Artaxerxes iii (359–338 B.C.) that the Jews joined with others in revolt, the result of which was, however, disastrous for them.

Regarding the history of the Jews, so far as the period under consideration is concerned, our knowledge is but scanty; the important events were briefly these: in 537 B.C. a number of the exiles in Babylonia returned to Palestine under the leadership of Sheshbazzar. From 537 to 520 B.C. the historical books of the Old Testament give no information as to what took place. In 520 B.C. the rebuilding of the Temple was begun under the inspiration of Haggai and

~~Zechariah~~ The governor of Judah at that time was Zerubbabel—of Sheshbazzar nothing further is said; the High-priest was Joshua, the son of Jehozadak. The re-building of the Temple was completed in 516 B.C. Then again there is silence, so far as the historical books are concerned, until 444 B.C. when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem as governor of Judah. How long he occupied this position is not indicated, but it must have been for at least twelve years. The arrival of Ezra with a further contingent of returned exiles from Babylonia took place in 397 B.C.; but how long he worked among his people in Palestine is, again, not recorded. From the Elephantiné papyri we learn that in 408 B.C. Sanballat was still governor of Samaria, though his two sons, Delaiah and Shelemiah, acted for him, presumably on account of his advancing age. In the same year, we learn further that the governor of Judah was Bigvai (=Bagoas), and that the High-priest was Johanan, also written Jehohanan.

In view of these exiguous *data* it is the more to be welcomed that in Isa. lvi-lxvi a few incidental references to events in Judah may be gathered. The most important, from the religious-historical point of view, of these is what is said about a body of worshippers living among the Jews who were regarded as heretical (cp. Isa. lvii. 20). It is certain that many of the inhabitants of Judah, who had been left in the land when their brethren were led away into exile, were on friendly terms with the Samaritans and apparently joined in their worship, which was conducted in the Temple at Jerusalem (cp., *e.g.*, Neh. xiii. 28 ff.); their false worship is also spoken of in Isa. lviii. 1 ff., lxvi. 3, 4, and elsewhere; and we learn from such passages that the movement was in process of development which ultimately resulted in the definite break from Judaism known as the "Samaritan schism." It will, however, be realized that the evidence points to the fact that the Samaritans were joined by a certain number of their Jewish brethren in the south. The general state of things at this time was clearly deplorable; the religious leaders are represented as utterly unfit for their position, "blind," "without knowledge," and "dumb dogs," who dream and love to slumber; they are greedy,

insatiable and intent upon gain (lvi. 9-12). As had so frequently happened before, the wealthy oppressed the poor (lviii. 7); so few are the righteous in the land that they threaten to disappear altogether (lvii. 1, 2). The worship is unreal and hypocritical; with bitter irony the prophet mocks at the external form of fasting which is deemed sufficient: "Is it to bow down his head as a rush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him?" (lviii. 5). The people place a bar between them and their God through their sins (lix. 1-4). The evidence of these chapters shows, therefore, that internal conditions in the land during this period (for the date see § IV) were, both socially and religiously, unhappy.

II. AUTHORSHIP OF ISA. LVI-LXVI

It has been held by some scholars that these chapters were written by the same author who wrote chs. xl-lv, chiefly because there are some notable instances of identity of thought and language in each (cp. especially chs. lx-lxii). That there are affinities between the two sets of chapters is undeniable; but, on the other hand, the differences in general outlook and religious thought, quite apart from style, between the two are so marked that it is impossible to believe that both can have come from the same author. The similarities between the two parts can be accounted for on the supposition that the writer of the later collection (lvi-lxvi) was influenced by Deutero-Isaiah, and that he adopted at times thoughts and expressions from his greater predecessor, not appearing to realize that they did not always harmonize with his less exalted ideas.

An examination of the various literary pieces which make up chs. lvi-lxvi will show that there are reasons for believing that they were written at different times. While there are good grounds for believing that most of these literary pieces are from the same author, it seems probable that a few of them were not his; but the opinions of scholars differ on the subject.

III. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

As in the case of chs. xl-lv, the last eleven chapters of our book consist of a number of independent literary pieces, and, like the former, they are almost wholly poetical in form. The difference of subject-matter contained in the various pieces makes it, as a rule, not difficult to separate them off; their contents are briefly as follows:

lvi. 1-8. Irregular metre; its original form is no longer to be identified. An exhortation to observe the Law; with a strongly universalistic outlook the prophet contemplates the reception into the congregation of Israel of non-Jews. All who observe the Sabbath and keep the covenant have a right to take part in the worship of the Temple.

lvi. 9-lvii. 13. The metre is variable; probably it was originally 3:3 alternating with *Qinah*. A denunciation against the religious leaders and against idolatrous worshippers within the Jewish community; the reference is to those who were in close touch with the Samaritans; we may see here the roots of what grew to be the "Samaritan schism."

lvii. 14-21. The metre is an almost regular 3:3, but the text is somewhat corrupt. The theme is the mercy of God on sinners who show a contrite heart; but for the wicked who persist in their wickedness there can be no rest.

lviii. The metre is the same as the preceding with but few irregularities due to textual corruption. A denunciation against the sins of the people exemplified by insincere worship and formalism, concluding with an exhortation to observe the Sabbath. Possibly several originally independent pieces have been combined here.

lix. The metre is again 3:3; but verse 21 is a prose conclusion.

A further denunciation of the sins of the people; the prophet rebukes the plea that Yahweh has no care for His people, and concludes with a promise that God will deliver the nation from its ills. The section is not a unity; verses 1-15a, consisting of three oracles (verses 1-4, 5-8, and 9-15a) are of an entirely different order from verses 15b-21,

the two pieces having been joined together by a late scribe. The latter piece contains a good deal that is borrowed from earlier writers.

lx. Verses 1-9 are 3:3; verses 10-16 *Qinah*, with some irregularity; verses 17-22 are again 3:3 and *Qinah*, but not consistently. A hymn celebrating the future glory of Jerusalem; for the light of Yahweh shall shine upon it, and the Gentiles shall flow into it; it concludes with an ideal picture of a righteous people.

lxi. Verses 1-3 mainly 3:3; verses 4-7 *Qinah*; verses 8-11 again 3:3. The prophet's message of comfort to his people.

lxii. 1-9. The metre alternates between 3:3 and *Qinah*. This piece is closely connected with the foregoing, the subject being the future glory of Zion.

lxii. 10-12. *Qinah*, but verse 10 is mutilated at the end, something having fallen out. The people are here addressed, but the theme is again the future glory of Zion. Verse 10 is reminiscent of xl. 3, upon which it is doubtless based.

lxiii. 1-6. The metre is 3:3, but there are a few textual corruptions. An independent poem. Yahweh is represented as coming from Edom, where He has overcome the enemies of His people.

lxiii. 7-lxiv. 12.¹ Although this may be regarded as a unity, the metre changes; lxiii. 7-17 are *Qinah*, though with irregularity, while verses 18, 19 and lxiv. 7-12 are 3:3; but not invariably. The section is divided into two parts, lxiii. 7-15, and lxiii. 16-lxiv. 12, but these are closely connected, so that it may be regarded as a whole. The first is a poem recognizing the divine mercy; the second is a prayer on behalf of the people suffering through the attack of an enemy.

lxv, lxvi. These chapters form a unity, but clearly marked sections are discernible.

lxv. 1-7. *Qinah* (verses 1-5), followed by 3:3 in verses 6, 7. A denunciation uttered against those who are practising a false worship. lxv. 8-12 are *Qinah* (verses 8-10), followed by 3:3 (verses 11, 12). The orthodox and the

¹ In the Hebrew text lxiv. 1 = 2 in the English Version.

schismatics contrasted. lxv. 13-25 are, with the exception of verses 17, 18 (3:3), *Qinah*. The future of the schismatics is contrasted with that of those who are loyal to Yahweh and who will enjoy the happiness of the Messianic times (verses 17-25). lxvi. 1-4, consisting of *Qinah* (verses 1, 2) and 3:3 (verses 3, 4), records the intention of the schismatics to build a temple of their own; but their false worship will bring upon them the wrath of Yahweh. lxvi. 5-16 is mostly *Qinah*, but verses 12 ff. seem to be prose. The punishment of the schismatics, but the peace and happiness of those faithful to Yahweh. After verse 5 it is probable that verses 17-24 should come, they seem to have been displaced; these verses are in prose up to and including verse 21; the last three verses are 3:3. This passage deals further with the false worship of the schismatics, and the reward of the faithful is again described.

IV. DATE

Connected with the question of date is that of authorship, already dealt with; unity of authorship for these chapters is insisted on by a number of eminent scholars, while others dispute this. If we could be certain that the whole of Isa. lvi-lxvi came from the prophet designated for convenience' sake Triton-Isaiah, the question of date would be simple. But there are certain indications appearing in some of these sections which may point to a date later than the time of this prophet.

There are two landmarks in early post-exilic times of paramount importance, viz. the rebuilding of the Temple completed in 516 B.C., and the advent of Nehemiah in 444 B.C.; owing to this reformer's influence and activity a marked difference was created in the social and religious life of the people. As a first step in seeking to date these poems it will be well to gather from them any indications which may point to their having been written within this period (516-444 B.C.), or after it.

In the section lvi. 1-8 there are various passages which show that the Temple had been rebuilt (verses 5-7), while

the universalistic attitude necessitates a date prior to the advent of Nehemiah with his strongly nationalistic outlook. A similar date, though for a different reason, must be assigned to lvi. 9–lvii. 13; the state of the religious leaders, the idolatrous worship, and the superstitious practices of the people, here portrayed, would never have been tolerated by Nehemiah; the section must, therefore, belong to a time before his advent. There is no direct mention of the Temple; but its existence may well be implied in lvii. 13: “he that putteth his trust in me shall possess the land, and shall inherit my holy mountain”—the mountain received its sanctity from the presence of the Temple on it. In the next section, lvii. 14–21, verse 19 shows that the Temple had been rebuilt: “I create the fruit of the lips,” refers to divine grace on the worshippers; the “fruit of the lips” means praise and thanksgiving; hence the existence of the Temple worship is implied. Other verses in the poem (14, 17, 20) point to undesirable elements among the people of a kind that Nehemiah would not have permitted, so that the conditions suggest a time before his arrival. At first sight the words in verse 14, “Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumbling-block¹ out of the way of my people,” being so reminiscent of xl. 3, 4, would suggest that the section belonged to the eve of the Return; but that cannot be the case; the Hebrew word for “stumbling-block” is used in reference to those who are disturbing the religious life of the faithful by a heretical form of worship—spoken of also in the preceding section—they are like the troubled sea casting up mire and dirt (verse 20).

In the next section there are indubitable signs of the services of the Temple being regularly held (*e.g.* verse 2), and the prophet’s rebuke to the people for their wrong spirit when keeping the fasts (verses 3–5), and for not observing the Sabbath (verse 13), points also to this. That it belongs to a time before the arrival of Nehemiah is evident from this non-observance of the Sabbath (see Neh. xiii. 15–22); he would never have suffered the desecration

¹ The word is used mostly in a figurative sense; it occurs in a literal sense in Lev. xix. 14.

referred to in verse 13. Moreover, verse 12 shows that the city walls had not yet been rebuilt, which is conclusive evidence for a period before Nehemiah's governorship.

For the next section (lix) see below.

The whole of lx-lxiii. 6, forming originally a separate collection, contains indications of the period to which it belongs similar to those accruing in the sections already dealt with: in lx. 13 the beautifying of the sanctuary is spoken of, showing that the Temple had been rebuilt; and lx. 10, 11; lxi. 4 make it clear that the walls of the city had not yet been rebuilt.

For the section lxiii. 7-lxiv. 12 see below.

Chs. lxv, lxvi, with the exception of lxvi. 5, 17-24 (see below), can be taken together as they have many features in common. That the Temple has been rebuilt is indicated by lxv. 11, lxvi. 1; the latter runs: "Thus saith Yahweh, The heaven is my throne, and the earth is my footstool; what manner of house would ye build for me, and what manner of place for my dwelling?" This does not mean that the Temple had not yet been built; the words must be understood in the same sense as those of i Kgs. viii. 27;¹ the context shows this, for verses 3, 4 speak of the impure sacrifices which were being offered. This idolatrous form of worship (see also lxv. 2-5, lxvi. 17), denounced also in some of the earlier sections, again points to a time before Nehemiah's arrival; such things would never have been tolerated by him.

All the sections referred to, and they constitute the bulk of "Trito-Isaiah," may thus be assigned to the period 516-444 B.C.; a more precise dating does not seem possible. There are three sections, however, which for reasons to be given, do not appear to belong to this period; they are:

lix. Of the three pieces contained in this chapter, verses 1-4 do not give any indication of date, and could belong to almost any time. But 5-8 would seem to be a later insertion. The liturgical character of verses 9-15a with the note of

¹ "But will God in very deed dwell on the earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of the heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded."

confession points to a time at any rate after Ezra. The section 15b-21 with its eschatological note in verse 19 must also belong to a later time.

The section lxiii. 7-lxiv. 12 forms a complete whole, though both as to this, as well as to the period to which it belongs, opinions differ, some scholars holding that it is a compilation. In lxiii. 17-19 it is said: "O Lord, why dost thou make us to err from thy ways, and hardenest our heart from thy fear (*i.e.* from fearing thee)? Return for thy servants' sake the tribes of thine inheritance. Wherefore have the ungodly despised thy temple,¹ and our adversaries trodden down thy sanctuary?"

In connexion with this must be read also lxiv. 11, 12 (Hebr. 10, 11): "Our holy and beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burned with fire; and all our pleasant things are laid waste. Wilt thou refrain thyself from these things, O Lord? Wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us very sore?" It is clear from these passages that the Temple had suffered grievous damage; and were it not for the quite obvious post-exilic character of the rest of the section, one would naturally think of the 586 B.C. catastrophe.

But, as this seems out of the question, there are only two other occasions to which reference can be made here: the severe chastisement inflicted on the Jews by Artaxerxes iii Ochus about 350 B.C., or the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus iv in 169 B.C. as recorded in i Macc. i. 20-28. This latter can, however, be ruled out, for in lxiii. 17 there is an obvious allusion to a captivity; nothing in the nature of a deportation occurred in the time of Antiochus iv, but Artaxerxes iii carried captive "many ten thousands" of the Jews to Hyrcania, on the shore of the Caspian Sea. It is true that there is no reference to the desecration of the Temple by the several ancient writers who record this episode; but as these are all non-Jewish that is easily accounted for. The section lxiii. 7-lxiv. 12 may, therefore, with considerable justification, be assigned to about the year 350 B.C.

Finally, we come to the concluding section, lxvi. 17-24,

¹ Emended text: לָמָּה זָעַרְנוּ וְשָׁעִים מִלְּפָנֶיךָ (Marti, Duhm).

to which verse 5 also belongs. Opinions again differ as to its date, and it seems difficult to reach a definite conclusion; all that can be said is that the universalistic attitude of verses 18-21, 23, and the eschatological nature of verses 22, 24, offer some grounds for assigning the section to the latter part of the fourth century.

The results of our investigation may be summarized thus:—By far the larger portion of these chapters are from the writer designated "Trito-Isaiah," the sections belonging to him being lvi. 9-lvii. 13; lvii. 14-21; lviii. 1-6; lxv; lxvi. 1-4, 6-16; all these pieces are to be assigned to the period between the years 516-444 B.C. The remaining sections, lix; lxiii. 7-lxiv. 12; lxvi. 5, 17-24, may be regarded as belonging probably to the latter half of the fourth century B.C.

V. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

Though the text of "Trito-Isaiah" has not, upon the whole, been preserved in quite as pure a condition as that of "Deutero-Isaiah," it is, generally speaking, satisfactory. There are, it is true, serious defects here and there, and numerous small errors occur; a few displacements, notably lxvi. 17-24, are also to be noted; but, in spite of these, the text cannot be said, taking it as a whole, to be in a bad state. Redactional elements are to be discerned, but they are comparatively rare.

Nevertheless, the use of the Septuagint is very necessary, for although there are no passages of any length which in the Septuagint reflect a better form of text than that of the MT (lix. 17, which is rightly omitted by the Septuagint, is the longest), there are numerous cases in which just the difference of a word represents quite obviously a reading superior to that of the present Hebrew text, and makes the sense of a passage clearer. Sometimes, too, a word in the MT is not represented in the Septuagint, and the omission makes a better reading.¹

¹ For the study of the Septuagint see Zillesen in *ZATW*, 1906, pp. 231-276.

VI. THE PROPHET AND HIS TEACHING

Apart from those elements for which the writer of these chapters was indebted to "Deutero-Isaiah," such as the omnipotence and unity of God, and universalism, there are various subjects dealt with which point to post-exilic times. To "Trito-Isaiah" the Temple, its sacrificial worship, and the Law, occupy a place of importance quite unrecognized by the earlier prophet. In his denunciations of sin as the bar which separates Yahweh from His people, his call to repentance, and his insistence that there can be no forgiveness for those who lead unworthy lives and whose worship is insincere, "Trito-Isaiah" follows in the steps of the pre-exilic prophets. There is in these chapters a strange alternation of threats of punishment and promises of a glorious future, due to the conditions of the time; evil spiritual leaders and irreligion among the people demand threats, while the prophet's optimistic hopes constantly assert themselves, doubtless one of the marks of "Deutero-Isaiah's" influence. Here and there, as already indicated, apocalyptic elements are to be discerned, *e.g.* lx. 19, 20; in this and in other respects the prophet was influenced by Ezekiel; he also draws at times from the books of *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. There is but little of originality of teaching about "Trito-Isaiah," but he lived at a time when the work of a prophet was intensely needed, and without his influence and teaching it is difficult to see how the Jews could have failed to sink down to the religious level of the surrounding peoples.

THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

IN the Hebrew Bible the book of *Jeremiah* stands second of the "Later Prophets," following *Isaiah* and preceding *Ezekiel*. There is, however, a Rabbinic tradition to the effect that it should come first of its group.¹ In the Septuagint, also, *Jeremiah* is usually placed between *Isaiah* and *Ezekiel*, though these three are preceded by the "Twelve." In the Peshitta *Jeremiah* stands immediately after the "*Twelve*," and the Vulgate follows the Hebrew order, retained in most modern versions.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The life and activity of Jeremiah fall in one of the great critical ages of history. His call to the prophetic ministry is dated in the year which saw the death of the last of the great kings of Assyria, Ashur-bani-pal (626 B.C.).² At once the empire began to break up. Babylonia asserted her independence, under the Chaldean king Nabopolassar, and the great Scythian inroads shattered the northern defences. In 616 B.C. the new Babylonian power attacked the weak Assyria, and in 614 B.C., with the help of the Medes, they captured the old capital Ashur. The allies took and destroyed Nineveh itself in 612 B.C. and captured Harran, where resistance was still made, in 610 B.C. At this point our detailed knowledge of events breaks off, but we have grounds for believing that the last stand was made still further west, at Carchemish.

The period also saw a recrudescence of vitality in Egypt. The young king, Necho, cherished the hope of restoring the

¹ Cp. above, p. 233.

² Various attempts have been made to suggest another date, but none has secured any serious recognition.

old empire of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C., and definitely threw in his lot with Assyria, probably on the ground that she would now be too weak to injure him, while the Neo-Babylonian monarchy would prove a fatal obstacle to his ambitions. For several years he led armies into Mesopotamia, fighting with varied success. But he was unable to save Nineveh, and, in 605 B.C., he suffered a final defeat at Carchemish. This was the last occasion on which Egypt seriously grasped at world-hegemony, if we except a few spasmodic efforts in the age of the Ptolemies.

The Palestinian states had, previously, been forced to accept Egyptian dominion, but the result of Carchemish was an inevitable transfer of power to Babylon. Nebuchadrezzar, who succeeded his father, Nabopolassar, a few months after Carchemish, was satisfied with receiving tribute from the little kingdoms of the west; but, stirred up by Egyptian intrigues, they were restless and inclined to revolt. Nebuchadrezzar was forced to suppress such a rising in 597-6 B.C. Judah was implicated by Jehoiakim, but it seems that he died before an actual attack was made on the city, and it was his son, Jehoiachin, who surrendered and was carried captive to Babylon. Zedekiah, a younger brother of Jehoiakim, was placed on the throne. He was a weak ruler, and was unable to resist the nobles who were intriguing with Egypt against Babylon. The inevitable result was the invasion of Judah by the Chaldæans in 588 B.C., resulting in the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

The kingdom of Judah thus ceased to exist, crushed by the advancing power of Babylon. Palestine had suffered, as it seems, from the Scythian invasion in or about 626 B.C. Some of the oracles of Jeremiah fit this invasion better than any other, and it seems that Zephaniah was also faced with the same conditions. In 621 B.C. Josiah carried through his great reform, based on a law-book found in the Temple,¹ and we may regard his action as having a political, as well as a religious, aspect. Since it involved the eradication of all foreign cults, it was, in fact, a gesture of independence of Assyria. Thirteen years later (608 B.C.) he met his death at

¹ See above, pp. 57 f., 65.

the hands of Necho, who was ostensibly on the Assyrian side. The people passed over his eldest son and placed the second, Jehoahaz, on the throne. On his return from that year's Mesopotamian expedition, Necho deposed Jehoahaz, and took him in chains to Egypt, setting his elder brother Jehoiakim on the throne. The new king was a vigorous and unscrupulous tyrant, who oppressed his people much as Solomon had done. It would seem that some of the results achieved by the Deuteronomic reform were now reversed, and Judah went back to many of her old ways.

On the destruction of the city of Jerusalem, and the absorption of Judah into the Babylonian empire, Nebuchadrezzar appointed Gedaliah, of the family of Shaphan, governor of the country. He made his headquarters at Mizpah, and remained there for a period whose duration we cannot determine with certainty. It was, however, probably four or five years. He was eventually assassinated by a representative of the old royal house, Ishmael by name, on the instigation of the Ammonites, and the last remnants of the governing body fled to Egypt, in fear of vengeance from Babylon.

III. CONTENTS

The book of *Jeremiah* is a combination of several collections of oracular material, with others, giving an account of events which took place in the prophet's lifetime and with some descriptions of the prophet's own experiences. A detailed account of its contents, however, can be appreciated only in connexion with the study of its structure.

IV. STRUCTURE AND DATE

The book of *Jeremiah*, like *Isaiah*, is a compilation in which all three types of source¹ have been freely used. The method adopted by its compiler, however, is quite different from that employed in *Isaiah*. In this latter book the material of each kind is more or less grouped together, while in *Jeremiah* passages from the one alternate with the others.

¹ See below.

Not infrequently the prose passages have a heading, giving the date or some other circumstance, and this is almost invariable where a prose passage precedes a group of oracular material. Once or twice a heading is followed first by type A and then by type B or C, but the other is the usual order. Occasionally little scraps of prose are found in the middle of oracular sections, and *vice versa*. The general distribution of the three types is as follows:

A	B	C
(Oracular Poetry).	(Prose in the 3rd person).	(Prose in the 1st person).
i. 15-iii. 5.		i. 1-14.
iii. 19-vi. 30.		iii. 6-18.
viii. 4-x. 25.		vii. 1-viii. 3. ¹
xi. 15-xii. 17.		xi. 1-14.
xiii. 15-27.		xiii. 1-14.
xiv. 1-10.		xiv. 11-16.
xiv. 17-xvii. 18.		xvii. 19-27.
xviii. 13-23.		xviii. 1-12.
xx. 7-18.	xix. 1-xx. 6.	
	xxi. 1-10.	
xxi. 11-14.		xxii. 1-5.
xxii. 6-xxiii. 40.	xxvi.	xxiv.
xxv. 30-36.	xxix.	xxv. 1-29.
xxx. 4-xxxi. 22.	xxx. 1-3.	xxvii.
xlvi-li. 58.	xxxiii.	xxviii.
	xxxiv.	xxxi. 23-40.
	xxxvi-xlv.	xxxi.
	li. 59-64.	xxxv.
	lii.	

We now turn to the headings which appear from time to time in the book. These are found in the following places: i. 1, ii. 1,² iii. 6, vii. 1,² xi. 1, xiii. 1, xiv. 1, xvii. 19, xviii. 1, xxi. 1, xxv. 1, xxvi. 1, xxvii. 1, xxviii. 1, xxix. 1, xxx. 1, xxxii. 1, xxxiii. 1, xxxiv. 1, xxxiv. 8, xxxv. 1, xxxvi. 1, xxxvii. 1, xxxix. 1, xl. 1, xliii. 8, xlv. 1, xlv. 1, xlvi. 1. It will be seen at once that in the earlier parts of the book these headings occur most often at the beginning of prose passages

¹ Except for the heading in vii. 1 (where the prophet is mentioned in the third person, and this may be due either to redaction or to accidental corruption of the text; a similar heading is found in xviii. 1 and xxvii. 1, though both passages are clearly C, not B), there is no *formal* indication of the type to which this passage belongs. But in character it identifies itself with C rather than with B, and a part of it clearly refers to the same occasion as xxvi, which is obviously B. We thus have a reference to the same event from the two types of source.

² Not found in the text of the Septuagint.

which are followed by poetical pieces. Later, when the poetical portions have practically come to an end, they occur in the course both of B and of C groups. This seems to imply that the compiler had before him collections of B and C material, divided into sections, all of which had headings of some kind, many of them being dated. These headings were no part of the original pieces, since in more than one instance the heading of a C passage is in the third person, *e.g.* in xviii. 1, xxv. 1, xxvii. 1 and xxxv. 1. It is possible that some of the oracular sections had such headings, and one may survive from this source in xiv. 1. This, however, is the only case in which a poetical section precedes the prose which is linked up with it.

These facts give us a clue to the methods of the compiler. He had before him a number of little collections of oracular material in poetry, some of which had prose appendices or expansions of no great length. He had also a collection of descriptive material from the hand of a biographer, and a similar collection of passages in the first person, mainly consisting of oracular material worked over into rhetorical prose form.¹

His method was to take each small collection, or group of oracular utterances, and to prefix to it a suitable selection from one of the two prose collections. We may safely assume that if he had had but a single poetic collection, he would have made it more continuous, and the result would have been a book much more like that of *Isaiah* in general appearance. For his purpose he preferred passages of the C type, and used but little of the B class until the others were nearly all exhausted. It is not until we reach ch. xix that we have a B passage. It seems probable that the collection of C passages was much fuller for the earlier period of Jeremiah's ministry, though it included passages dating from the final siege of Jerusalem, while the B passages cover the later period only. The first of the latter (ch. xix) has no heading, while the second (xxi. 1-10) is dated

¹ In one illuminating passage, xxii. 10-12, we have the two side by side, first the poetic oracle, and then a prose version of it. In this instance the compiler has displaced the prose verses from their original setting in order to combine them with the poetic form.

in the reign of Zedekiah. Ch. xxvi is dated at the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim (608-7 B.C.), but there is little else of this type that can be placed earlier than the fourth year of that king's reign, *i.e.* the time of the battle of Carchemish, when the Egyptian power was finally broken, and Babylon became the one great world-power.

i. *Structure of A sections.* We may now note in rather more detail the contents of the various little oracular collections which have been utilized by the main compiler. We can distinguish no less than fourteen in all, none of them as long as the majority of those preserved in *Isaiah* and, perhaps, in some other books. They are as follows:

(a) i. 15-iii. 5.¹ The first two of the pieces included here may not have belonged to the original collection. The first (i. 15-16) evidently owes its position to its suitability as a sequel to the vision of the boiling pot, and the second forms a natural conclusion to the story of Jeremiah's call to the prophetic ministry. The remainder, however, consists of utterances which may all belong to the earlier part of the prophet's work, either before or during the Deuteronomic reform. We may distinguish the following:

ii. 2-3, 5-8 (verse 4 is clearly a collector's note), 9-12, 13 (probably mutilated at the end), 14-17, 18-19, 20-22, 23-24, 25 (a fragment), 26-29, 30-31a (only the beginning of this piece has been preserved), 31b-33, 34-35, 36-37.

iii. 1 (this is prosaic in form, and may include a commentator's explanation as well as a fragment of an original oracle), 2-5.

Throughout all these oracles the influence of Hosea seems to be particularly strong, inasmuch as most of them present the relation between Yahweh and Israel as that of husband and wife. They are best assigned to a time not later than the reform of Josiah, and there is nothing to indicate that the compilation itself was made late.

(b) iii. 19-vi. 30. The separate pieces included here seem to have been: iii. 19-20, 21-22, 23-25, iv. 1-2, 3-4 (modified by addition at the end, unless it be mutilated),

¹ The "title" in ii. 1-2 is absent from the Septuagint, and may well be a scribal addition. See below on the Hebrew text, pp. 312 f.

5-8, 9-12 (worked over and recast as prose, though clear signs of the original poetic form are to be seen, especially in vv. 11 f.), 13-17, 18 (possibly a fragment); 19-21 (to which 22 has been appended), 23-26, 27-28, 29-31, v. 1-6, 7, 8-9, 10-13 (this has probably been expanded towards the end), 15-17 (with a prose introduction in 14 and conclusion in 18-19, the style of which suggests the age of Malachi), 20-25 (much worked over near the beginning), 26, 27, 28-29, 30-31, vi. 1-5, 6-8, 9-12, 13-15 (mutilated at the beginning; the complete form appears in viii. 10-12), 16-19, 20, 21, 22-26, 27-30. Many of the pieces in this collection date from a time of foreign invasion, possibly that of the Chaldeans in 596 B.C. or 587 B.C., but more probably that of the Scythians in 626 B.C. While there is nothing which we cannot ultimately ascribe to Jeremiah, several of the pieces have been worked over and recast, and there appear to be traces of the style of the age of Malachi. It is possible that we must date the final form of this collection as late as the end of the fifth century B.C. It may here be noted that the last piece but one (vi. 22-26) appears in l. 41-43, in a form which has been mutilated and adapted to Babylon instead of to Jerusalem.

(c) viii. 4-x. 25. We may note the following pieces: viii. 4-7, 8-9, 10-12, 13-14 (with a verse taken from xiv. 19 appended), 16-18, 19-23, ix. 1-2, 3-5, 6-8, 9-10, 11-13, 14-15, 16-18, 19-21, 22-23, 24-25, x. 1-10 (a late passage which has received considerable accretions since the translation of the Septuagint, and is followed by an Aramaic verse which must be a late addition), 12-16 (an extended doxology, probably post-exilic, which appears again in li. 15-19), 17 (a fragment), 18 (probably also a fragment), 19-21, 22, 23-25.

While there are portions of this collection which are certainly due to Jeremiah, there are others which are equally certainly derived from a much later source, especially in ch. x. The first sixteen verses cannot be earlier than the Exile, and may well be much later. The curious Aramaic verse (x. 11) is apparently a sort of charm to be used by pious Jews when confronted with heathen

gods. We cannot place this collection earlier than the end of the fifth century, and it is probably somewhat later still.

(*d*) xi. 15-xii. 17. This section includes pieces which, though resembling the usual oracles in their poetic form, yet differ from them in that they tell us of the prophet's inner experiences rather than of his message to his people. These are among the most valuable and important passages in the book. The collection, however, includes other oracles as well: xi. 15-17 (text corrupt and often obscure), 18-20, 22-23 (verse 21 is introductory to this), xii. 1-3, 4-6 (possibly not originally a single piece), 7-13 (this has been considerably modified at the end, but it is no longer possible to restore the actual conclusion of the original oracle), 14-17 (a promise of a restoration which, in its present form, can hardly be pre-exilic, though its basis seems to have been originally the work of Jeremiah).

Here again, amid much that is obscure and uncertain, we have some undoubted utterances of Jeremiah, and unmistakable signs of a much later worker. While the collection cannot be very early, it need not be placed much later than the return from the Exile.

(*e*) xiii. 15-27. This contains only two poems, the first (15-16) being a rather vague warning, and the second (17-27) a denunciation and threat against the king and the queen-mother, especially the latter. It would seem that an attempt has been made to transfer the threat from the queen-mother to the city of Jerusalem, but the real character of the poem is quite clear.

The prominence given to the queen-mother makes it practically certain that the second poem comes from the short reign of Jehoiachin (597-6 B.C.). The other might be from almost any period, though its style suggests Jeremiah himself.

(*f*) xiv. 1-10. Verses 2-6 describe a drought, and the remainder seems to be a prayer of national confession, possibly used in some ritual which was intended to secure the favour of Yahweh in such a time.

There is no clue to the dates, except that the interest

shown in wild life in the former poem would be quite characteristic of Jeremiah, and inclines us to accept his authorship of it.

(g) xiv. 17-xvii. 18. This is another of the sections in which we have material describing Jeremiah's immediate experience in his dealings with Yahweh. xiv. 17-22 forms a prayer for deliverance, followed by xv. 1-4 (an oracle much worked over), 5-9, 10-14 (the original form much expanded, partly by the inclusion in 13, 14 of material also found in xvii. 3-4), 15-18, 19-21, xvi. 1-4, 5-8, 9, 10-13 (much modified), 14-18 (a prose passage apparently from near the close of the exile), 19-21, xvii. 1-4 (modified and worked over), 5-8 (a psalm which forms the basis of Ps. i), 9-10, 11, 12-13 (the last two mere fragments), 14-18.

(h) xviii. 13-23. This seems to contain only two pieces, 13-17 and 18-23, the latter being an imprecation on Jeremiah's personal enemies.

(i) xx. 7-18. The little collection opens with Jeremiah's complaint in 7-10, to which fragments from various sources have been appended in 11, 12, and 13. Verses 14-18 were the model for Job iii.

(j) xxi. 11-14. A single oracle which may have been originally included in the next collection; it has received additions to its original form.

(k) xxii. 6-xxiii. 40. The nucleus of this collection is a group of oracles dealing with the various kings contemporary with Jeremiah. The opening section, 6-7, is a mutilated oracle, which has been continued in prose. This is followed by other oracles in 10-12 (Jehoahaz), 13-17, 18-19 (Jehoiakim), 20-23 (Judah in general), 24-27, 28-29, 30 (all three refer to Jehoiachin, though they have been worked over and are now prose in form). Ch. xxiii. 1-8 consists of a group of Messianic prophecies, which seem to have been gathered round 5-6. These last may be a relic of a dirge over Zedekiah, promising a better king whose name shall be the reverse of his. Verses 7-8 have appeared already in xvi. 14-15. The remainder of the chapter is a conglomeration of utterances, mostly small fragments, which have the prophets as their subject. As usual in such

cases, a few oracles are clearly defined near the beginning of the little collection, *e.g.* 9-11, 13-15, 21-22, 23-24, 25-29 (much modified), 33-40 (also much worked over).

(*l*) xxv. 30-36. Evidently taken from a collection of oracles dealing with foreign nations, perhaps that which is now found in chs. xlv-li. It contains several more or less fragmentary pieces: 30-31, 32-33, 34-36.

(*m*) xxx. 4-xxxi. 22. This collection owes its position in the book to the fact that it is primarily composed of promises of a happy future. This, however, is not the only type of oracle found in it, though the gloomy utterances tend to have a happy ending affixed to them. Thus we have: xxx. 4-7 (with 8-9 appended), 10-11, 12-15 (text very doubtful in parts), 16-17, 18-21, 22, 23-24 (also found in xxiii. 23-24), xxxi. 2-6, 7-9, 10-14, 15-17, 18-20, 21-22.

While there is a good deal in this collection which suggests the tone of the later years of the Exile, there is also a certain amount of material which we can certainly attribute to Jeremiah.

(*n*) xlv-li. A collection of oracles dealing with foreign nations. Each group contains several oracles, and the phenomena of their composition resemble those of the other collections. The nations dealt with are as follows: Egypt (xlv. 1-26, with an appendix in vv. 27 f., which is also found in xxx. 10 f.), Philistia (xlvii. 1-7), Moab (xlviii. 1-47, including passages also found in Isa. xv, xvi), Ammon (xlix. 1-6), Edom (xlix. 7-22, including two oracles also found in *Obadiah*), Damascus (xlix. 23-27), Kedar (xlix. 28-33), Elam (xlix. 34-39), and Babylon (l. 1-li. 58).

This brief outline survey of the general structure of the book has made certain facts evident. Of these we may select three as being the most significant for the history of the book, and, indeed, of much of the prophetic literature. The first is the brevity of most of the independent pieces we have isolated from one another. To some extent this is due to the "scrappiness" of the material which the various collectors found ready to their hands. There are many mutilated pieces; sometimes we have definite proof

of the fact in the appearance of a fuller form, either in this or in some other book. In many cases we have nothing but brief fragments, whose original context it is impossible to guess, and these have been flung together, almost haphazard, by some of the collectors. There is more of this type of material in *Jeremiah* than in any other prophetic book, and it tends to make exegesis difficult and uncertain.

The second point which strikes us is the frequency with which we meet with little prose pieces in the midst of what are, otherwise, poetical collections. Naturally, there is seldom, if ever, enough evidence to show whether the prophet was mentioned in the first or in the third person in these small sections, but, since they consist of messages and not descriptions of events, they attach themselves more readily to the C type than to the B type. They are, in fact, oracles which were probably once poetic in form but written down in prose form before the formation of the collections. Often we have snatches of the poetic rhythm and parallelism in these pieces, and in one instance (xxii. 10-12) we have the two forms side by side, and can see something of the process which resulted in these "prose oracles."

There is one feature of these pieces which deserves special notice. The style and language in which they are cast is usually reminiscent of *Deuteronomy*, especially of the hortatory portions of that work. It has been usual to suspect that they, or many of them, were produced by the "Deuteronomistic School," but a little consideration will show that this hypothesis is not necessary to account for the facts. The so-called "Deuteronomistic style" is simply the form which Hebrew rhetorical prose took in the latter part of the seventh century and the first part of the sixth. The aims and ideas expressed in these passages would often be acceptable to the compilers of *Deuteronomy*, but that is not inconsistent with their being ultimately of Jeremianic origin.¹ We are justified in believing that these passages were originally poetic oracles, many of them uttered by

¹ For the relation between Jeremiah and the Deuteronomistic position see below, pp. 307 ff.

Jeremiah himself, which have been reduced to prose (and expanded in the process), either when they were first written down, or at some point in their transmission. The former is the more likely explanation.

The third point which strikes us at once is the number of oracles and fragments in *Jeremiah* which occur elsewhere, either in this or in other books. We have passages which are common to *Jeremiah* and *Isaiah* (especially in the Moabite sections, Isa. xv-xvi and Jer. xlviii), and others which are found in *Jeremiah* and *Obadiah* (among the oracles on Edom, Jer. xlix. 7-22). We have a fair number of parallel passages in the book of *Jeremiah* itself. The most striking of these is the parallel vi. 22-26 = l. 41-43, where, by a very slight change, the same oracle is made to refer to both Judah and to Babylon. Further, the form in ch. l has been mutilated at the end, though in other respects its text seems to have been rather better preserved. These facts lead us to the conclusion that, in the age when the collections were made, a great deal of the oracular matter attributed to Jeremiah was fairly widely known, and that independent collectors found a number of "floating" oracles, in whose Jeremianic authorship they had reason to believe.

ii. *Dating of A collections.* In our brief survey of the material contained in the oracular sections of *Jeremiah* we have had occasion to note, from time to time, that certain sections cannot be attributed to the prophet himself, and that, therefore, some of the collections must be exilic or post-exilic. The most obvious case of a late date is to be found in x. 1-16, which is almost universally regarded as being fairly late post-exilic. Few commentators to-day would be prepared to argue for a date earlier than the end of the fifth century, and to many this would seem far too early. The fact that it is followed by fragments whose Jeremianic authorship is hardly disputed, shows that it cannot be merely a late appendage to its collection, but must have been included in the original form. Another passage on which there would be general agreement is xvii. 21-27 (insistence on the observance of the Sabbath). This in-

evitably reminds us of Nehemiah's regulations on the same subject, and may well come from his time, or, perhaps, a little later. While it is impossible to fix with any certainty on a period for the compilation of the collections, we may safely say that some of them cannot have existed (in the form in which they came into the hands of the main compiler of the book) until the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth.

iii. *B sections : contents, date, and authorship.* We may now turn to the passages we have classed as type B, which consist of narratives describing the events in the life of the prophet, making no claim to have been written by himself, and containing little of his message, except so much as is necessary to explain or illustrate the events recorded. Most of the incidents are carefully dated. The first of these pieces (xix. 1-xx. 6), however, lacks both introduction and date, and describes Jeremiah's breaking of the clay vessel over the valley of Hinnom, together with the resultant imprisonment by Pashhur. It contains rather more of the preaching of Jeremiah than the majority of the passages in this class, and the "Deuteronomic" style is evident in the prophet's utterances. xxi. 1-10 records a message given by Jeremiah in answer to an inquiry by Zedekiah. Ch. xxvi contains an account of an address given by Jeremiah in the Temple, early in the reign of Jehoiakim. The occasion is clearly the same as that indicated in the opening verses of ch. vii, and some commentators have gone so far as to attempt a reconstruction in which both passages are used. But, while ch. vii gives a much fuller account of what Jeremiah said, ch. xxvi narrates the effect of his utterance and the peril into which it brought him. It is noticeable that we have here the only instance in which one of our canonical prophets is expressly quoted by name in the work of another—there is a direct reference to Mic. iii. 12 in verse 18. Ch. xxix describes a letter written by Jeremiah to certain exiles in Babylon after the deportation of Jehoiachin. In xxx. 1-3 we have little more than an expanded heading for what follows, but the order to write down the prophecies which follow may justify us in classing the verses with this type of

material. Ch. xxxiii gives, in another form, the message of ultimate hope already communicated in the preceding chapter. It is to be noted that from verse 14 onwards this passage has no representation in the Septuagint, which suggests that the latter part of the chapter is a very late addition. Ch. xxxiv dates from the final siege of Jerusalem, and the latter part (from verse 8 onwards) deals with those who liberated their slaves during the siege, only to claim them again when the Chaldeans had temporarily departed. In ch. xxxvi we have the account of the way in which Jeremiah's prophecies were first written down, of the burning of the document by Jehoiakim, and the preparation of a new roll. This is dated in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, *i.e.* the year of the battle of Carchemish. Chs. xxxvii–xlv give a nearly continuous record of events, especially those in which Jeremiah was most concerned, from the early part of the final siege of Jerusalem until the flight of the last remnant and their settlement in Egypt. It closes with a pronouncement of a final breach between Yahweh and Judah. Ch. xlv records a private oracle given to Baruch; li. 59–64 records a journey taken by Zedekiah to Babylon in the fourth year of his reign. Jeremiah sends a copy of oracles he has uttered against Babylon; these are to be read and then sunk in the Euphrates. The Jeremianic authorship of the surviving oracles against Babylon is a matter of very serious doubt, and we have no other record of, or reference to, this visit of Zedekiah's to Babylon, either from Israelite or from other sources. The originality, therefore, of this passage has been widely contested, and it is generally held to be a piece of "Midrash" attached by a later hand to the "Babylonian" oracle collection. Finally, ch. lii is an extract, either from ii Kgs. xxiv. 18 ff., or from a source employed by the writer of that section. It adds a certain number of details to the record as we now have it in *Kings*, and may represent an earlier form of the source. It has little or nothing to do with Jeremiah himself.

Except for certain obvious additions and expansions, this collection of the "Acts of Jeremiah" has all the marks of being the work of a contemporary, and there are good

grounds for the general opinion that Baruch was the writer. It will suffice to mention two of them. It was in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (*i.e.* the year of the battle of Carchemish), as far as we know, that Baruch came into official contact with Jeremiah. Only one incident recorded in this collection can be placed earlier than this date, and that is the attempt made by the religious leaders of the people to put Jeremiah to death after his address in the Temple. Here we have a date given to us in the early part of the reign of Jehoiakim. The incident was a very public one, and Baruch must have been aware of the details—as every other inhabitant of Jerusalem would have been. The probability thus created by the general body of the collection becomes a practical certainty when we note that it includes a private oracle delivered to Baruch himself. It is hardly likely that another would have known of this, and still less likely that he would have troubled to record it.

While the greater part of this collection consists of narrative, there is still a certain amount of space devoted to the actual message delivered by Jeremiah. If we may judge by the one instance in which we can form a comparison, *i.e.* that of the parallels between chs. vii and xxvi, the utterances of the prophet were condensed and abbreviated. Nevertheless, the whole carries the stamp of the “Deuteronomic” style. This is less obvious in the narrative portions, since the plain telling of a story, in the simple style imposed by the very nature of Hebrew syntax, does not leave very much room for wide differences. But where the words of the prophet are recorded the style is unmistakable. As we have seen, this “Deuteronomic” style is nothing more than the form which Hebrew rhetorical prose took from the middle of the seventh century and for some time onwards. Every consideration points to the same general conclusion as to date and authorship of this “biography” of Jeremiah.

iv. *C Sections: contents, origin, and date.* This group of material opens, appropriately enough, with the call of the prophet, followed by two introductory visions (i. 1-14). The next passage (iii. 6-18) is dated in the time of Josiah, and is either connected with, or earlier than, the Deutero-

nostic reform. It shows strongly the influence of Hosea. In vii. 1-viii. 3 we have a series of utterances which begins with the "Temple-sermon," and is dated by the parallel in ch. xxvi in the early part of the reign of Jehoiakim. The latter part of this section, from vii. 21 onwards, is devoted to condemnation of the *cultus*, especially of sacrifices in various forms. Ch. xi. 1-14, apparently, is a statement of Jeremiah's early attitude towards the Reform. Ch. xiii. 1-14 falls into two parts, of which the first recounts Jeremiah's acted parable of the girdle, and the second is a prophetic application of a popular saying. Since the oracular matter which immediately follows belongs to the short reign of Jehoiachin, it is possible that the compiler attributed these two passages to the same time. In xiv. 11-16 we have a short denunciation of insincere worship, xvii. 19-27 insists on Sabbath observance. The passage looks late, and may come from the time of Nehemiah. Ch. xviii. 1-12 (supplied with a heading which speaks of Jeremiah in the third person) gives Jeremiah's parable of the potter and the clay. Ch. xxii. 1-5 is a general introduction to the group of oracles on the kings. The vagueness of its language suggests a comparatively late date. Ch. xxiv, which comes from the reign of Zedekiah, records the vision of the two baskets of figs, and draws the contrast between the exiles and those who remain in Jerusalem. In xxv. 1-29 (like ch. xviii supplied with a heading) we have a group of utterances belonging to the critical year of Carchemish, in which first the consequences to Judah of the epoch-making battle are indicated, and then the results for the rest of Jeremiah's world are described. From the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah (so read for "Jehoiakim" in xxvii. 1) we have chs. xxvii, xxviii, a series of utterances in which Jeremiah sought to impress on his people the supremacy of the Chaldæans, and the necessity of remaining loyal to them. The immediate occasion was the prediction of certain prophets, especially of Hananiah, that Babylon would shortly fall and Jehoiachin and his fellow-exiles be restored. Ch. xxxi. 23-40 consists of a group of utterances concerning the happy future of Judah,

which probably Jeremiah expected under the rule of Gedaliah, after the fall of Jerusalem. It includes the great prophecy of the New Covenant. Ch. xxxii tells the story of the purchase of a piece of land by Jeremiah during the final siege of Jerusalem. Finally, ch. xxxv draws a lesson for all the people from the fidelity of the Rechabites. This is dated in the reign of Jehoiakim.

It is at once obvious that these passages are no longer in their original order—if that order was chronological. In contrast to the B passages there is comparatively little that can be placed after the year of Carchemish. The tone and style are strongly “Deuteronomic,” though there are passages, such as vii. 21 ff., which suggest that the prophet did feel, at some time in his life, that the Reform had not gone far enough. He would have abolished sacrifices altogether, and would have secularized the “burnt-offering” as well as the “peace-offering.”

The Deuteronomic flavour which these passages carry with them has led some modern commentators¹ to believe that they had, for the most part, nothing to do with Jeremiah whatever, but that they were the free inventions of the Deuteronomic school, who sought to use the name of the prophet to secure acceptance for their own views and theories. Even so, there are several passages whose Jeremianic authorship is universally admitted; no one has denied the “authenticity” of i. 1–14. And when the remainder are more closely examined, it will be seen that the question of authorship is not to be dismissed in summary fashion. Granted that there are passages which are probably due to a much later age than that of Jeremiah, there remain a number, probably the larger number, against which no real objection can be urged. It may at once be admitted that the style is Deuteronomic, but, as we have observed more than once, this is no more than the rhetorical prose of the period, which begins about the time of Jeremiah and extends probably till after the Return. As we have seen, the style of the B passages, almost universally accepted as the work of a contemporary, is also strongly Deutero-

¹ Particularly Duhm, Mowinckel and Hölscher.

nostic. We meet from time to time with words, phrases, metaphors, ideas which are not to be paralleled in the Deuteronomic literature, strictly so called, *i.e.* in *Deuteronomy* itself, or in the Deuteronomic framework of the historical books.¹ And certainly the Deuteronomists would not have approved of Jeremiah's attitude towards sacrifice.²

We have, however, more direct evidence of the comparatively early date of some of these passages in the relation which they bear to *Ezekiel*. The latter book has been subjected to some very drastic criticisms of late, but the passages universally recognized as original include chs. xviii and xxiii. When these are compared with Jer. xxxi. 29-30 and iii. 6-11 respectively there can hardly be any doubt that the *Ezekiel* passages are based on those found in *Jeremiah*—in fact they look like sermons on the *Jeremiah* texts.³

We must not, however, assume that every section and sentence we find in this type is to be accepted *ipso facto* as being from *Jeremiah*. Each must be judged on its merits, and there is a good deal which a commentator would wish to refer to a time long after that of Jeremiah. In iii. 14-17, for instance, we have a passage which, at the earliest, belongs to the close of the Exile, and may be post-exilic. It has been inserted in the collection in the place where it now stands on account of the use of the words "return" and "backsliding"—both being derived from the same Hebrew root. We may even suspect that these verses were written by a scribe of a later age for the position they now occupy. And in most of the sections that we have we may suspect, occasionally, a later addition; the most obvious, xvii. 21-27, has already been mentioned.

When, then, we speak of the "origin" of these passages, we must think of the original form, the nucleus around which the final structure was built up. The material is clearly the "prose oracle." We have no reason to doubt that, when an oracle was first uttered, it was poetic in form,

¹ As a single instance we may take the use of the word "conspiracy" in xi. 9.

² Cp. vii. 21-26.

³ For a discussion of one of the main grounds for rejecting these passages (the attitude of Jeremiah to the Deuteronomic reform), see below, pp. 307 ff.

and that a prose edition of it would come only later, possibly when it was written down. We have already referred to xxii. 10-12, where we have both forms, a short, yet full, poetic utterance, followed by an expansion in prose of the latter part of it.

If we may hazard a conjecture as to the origin of this collection of C passages, we may surmise that it is to be found in the "roll" which Baruch wrote at Jeremiah's dictation in 605 B.C. (see Jer. xxxvi).¹ It has been usual to try to reconstruct this document by putting together all the oracles which seem to have been delivered before 605 B.C. This, naturally, leaves room for subjectivity in determining the dates of the various passages. Our present suggestion does not wholly eliminate this possibility, since there certainly are some passages in the C collections which are later than Jeremiah. But we are on more solid ground when we recognize that such a document as that prepared by Baruch will probably have been couched in the rhetorical prose of the age, and that the scribe is very likely to have prefixed from time to time such headings as we have in vii. 1, xviii. 1 and xxi. 1-2. The greater number of the oracles included in this collection belong to the period which closed with the battle of Carchemish—the time at which they were first written down—but, as we are expressly told in xxxvi. 32, in the second edition of the roll "there were added besides unto them many like words." This surely means that the process was continued after 605 B.C., and that, so long as Jeremiah and Baruch were associated, additions were made from time to time to the roll. As we hear in xliii. 3, the connexion between the prophet and the scribe lasted till after the fall of Jerusalem. At the same time, many of Jeremiah's utterances were heard and remembered in the usual way, and were handed down by oral tradition till they were included in various oracle-collections.

v. *The main compilation.* As we have seen, there appear to be three main collections lying behind our present book of *Jeremiah*. All three of them contain material which must

¹ Cp. T. H. Robinson, *Baruch's Roll*, in *ZATW*, 1924, pp. 209-221.

be a good deal later than the prophet himself; some of it may be as late as the early part of the fourth century B.C., and it is to that century to which we can most safely assign the main compilation. Even then the book was subject to additions and alterations, though most of these can be ascribed to the zeal of the scribes who copied them. There are, however, instances of longer insertions, *e.g.* xxxiii. 14-26, which must be deliberate enlargements of the book. Moreover, we have reason to suspect that the collection of oracles against foreign nations was not included in the book till a much later period still—after the divergence of the Palestinian and Egyptian texts.

V. JEREMIAH AND THE REFORMS OF JOSIAH

In attempting to understand Jeremiah's position there is one point which requires fuller mention. This is the relation of the prophet to the Deuteronomic reform. A number of modern scholars—it is enough to mention Duhm and Kennett—believe that Jeremiah could not possibly have approved of a movement which permitted sacrifice still to continue. His utterance in vii. 21, "Add your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices and eat ye flesh," is interpreted as a universal condemnation of sacrifice. The limitation of sacrifice to a single altar would not satisfy Jeremiah; he would have had neither victims nor altar, but a purely spiritual form of worship. It is true that in ch. xi Jeremiah appears to be an enthusiastic supporter of the Reform, but ch. xi is among the C sections whose authenticity is so widely suspected. (Incidentally, it may be pointed out that ch. vii usually falls under the same condemnation as ch. xi.) But in ch. viii. 8 we have a less equivocal expression of opinion, "How do ye say, We are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? But, behold, the false pen of the scribes hath wrought falsely." In other words, Jeremiah believed that *Deuteronomy*, the first law-book of which we know that it claimed absolute authority, was nothing but a forgery. "But for this passage," says

Duhm,¹ "we might believe that he was not a contemporary of the Reform, or that he intentionally ignored it. And this solitary passage is hostile!"

These considerations create a difficulty which cannot lightly be set on one side. Yet there are others which may be set against them. In the first place there hardly seems to be enough reason to reject all the C passages; on the contrary, as has been already suggested, at least a large nucleus of them may reasonably be ascribed to Jeremiah's own dictation. We have, further, especially in the earlier chapters of the book, a number of undisputed oracles which might well have been delivered either before or during the progress of the Reform. Certainly they would have been out of place for some time afterwards.

Further, it may be that we should assume too much if we insisted categorically that Jeremiah was opposed to sacrifice *throughout the whole of his career*. Room must be granted to him to make further discoveries, to change his mind, to take into consideration new factors as they appeared. If vii. 21 belongs to the same date as the passage which precedes it, it comes from the early years of the reign of Jehoiakim, thirteen years after the Reform. If Jeremiah, as a young man, had seen in the Reform a means of achieving some part of the ideals for which he stood, he might well have been prepared to compromise, and it does not follow at this stage that he was opposed to sacrifice in principle. With the local cults he was familiar, as a member of a family which probably officiated at one of them, and he realized their dangers. So did the compilers of *Deuteronomy*, and Jeremiah may well, at this stage in his life, have shared their belief, that a cult centralized in Jerusalem could be controlled and kept pure.

Doubtless the years brought disillusionment. It would be difficult to find a more emphatic pronouncement than that already cited from viii. 8, where the most natural rendering of the Hebrew consonants in the latter part of the verse is that actually adopted by Duhm—"The lying pen of the scribes has made it into a lie." But Duhm's interpretation

¹ *Jeremia*, p. 89 (1901).

that the "scribes" are the authors, not the copyists, of *Deuteronomy*, is *not* the most natural explanation. On the contrary, the idiom used implies that the document in question had not always been "a lie," but had been turned into one since it first came into being. Thirteen years is ample time in which a man may discover that a document was being misused, misquoted, and misinterpreted—perhaps even deliberately altered to suit the convenience of the priesthood. At first the Reform looked likely to succeed, and Josiah retained the respect and admiration of Jeremiah till his death, though not necessarily on theological grounds. But, as time passed, it became clear that the movement had certain fatal weaknesses, and Jeremiah was forced to admit that it had failed. It was, as he suggests in viii. 8, too much exposed to manipulation and corruption. At the same time, the prophet may well have grown into the belief that *all* sacrifice was contrary to the will of Yahweh, at least as expressed in the Mosaic age. Finally, he saw the truth; its fundamental weakness was that, however perfect in itself, it was externally imposed, and a law of this kind would never be worth more than a "scrap of paper." So he was led to the enunciation of the profound truth that a covenant, to be effective, must be written on men's hearts, and his new conviction ultimately found expression in the great prophecy of the New Covenant—xxx. 31-34.

VI. THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

"Ah, Lord, I cannot speak, for I am a child," was the response Jeremiah made to the divine call. It was typical of the man's character. All his life he felt himself to be a person of extreme insignificance, carrying no authority of his own, and temperamentally unfit for public work of any kind. Tender, shy, and sympathetic as he was, his modest spirit would have been satisfied to the full with the peace and joy of quiet domestic life in his village home. He loved wild nature, and had observed the ways of beast and bird as carefully as Amos had done, while he had

watched them with an understanding and a sympathy which we do not find in the older prophet. His affections were strong, and no small part of the cross he had to bear lay in the barrier which kept him from forming the closest and dearest of human relationships.

Jeremiah—perhaps owing to the unfortunate tradition which fathered on him the book of *Lamentations*—stands to most men as the type of the mournful pessimist. Unhappy he certainly was, and could not have been otherwise. He was a man with a double passion and a twofold loyalty, devoted equally to his people and to his God. His patriotism was of that supreme quality which makes a man identify himself with his country, feel her troubles as his own sorrows, and repent for her sins with a personal remorse. His consuming desire was to see a permanent union established between Israel and Yahweh. Not only was he intensely conscious of the spiritual peril to Israel involved in her separation from her God, but he realized that the course she followed throughout the greater part of his ministry could end only in her material ruin. For forty years he pleaded that his people should return to Yahweh, and, save for the last half of Josiah's reign, he pleaded in vain. So for forty years, with his prophetic experience, he lived through the horrors of her coming fall, helpless to turn her into safe paths or to ward off the fatal blow. He could have been happy only at the cost of truth, only by saying (as men about him said) "Peace, Peace" where there was no peace. Yet his prophetic vision could carry him beyond the worst disaster and see recovery and restoration in the future, however distant it might be. The destruction of Jerusalem, city and Temple falling together, would not be the final issue, and, though for himself life ended with the last apostasy of his fellows in Egypt, and the bond between Yahweh and the Israelite fugitives was there irreparably snapped, he left the world the grandest triumph that true optimism ever achieved in his prophecy of the New Covenant.

As a poet Jeremiah is surpassed in the Old Testament only by Hosea, some of the Psalmists, and the poet of *Job*. Stirred to the depths of his passionate soul by the sin and

by the inevitable doom of his country, he gave to his lyrics an intensity and a power which thrill us to this day. It is impossible to read without a sense of wild horror such a passage as the great chaos-vision,¹ which we may, albeit feebly, paraphrase somewhat thus:

“ I looked on the earth—
And saw chaos’ rude birth,
At the heavens—and from them no light brake;
I looked on the hills
In their agony-thrills—
All the mountains did totter and quake.
I looked o’er the ground—
No man there I found,
All the birds had winged far their flight;
Unto Carmel I faced—
And its gardens were waste,
All was blasted beneath the fell blight.”

In a sense this overwhelming picture of tossing mountains and lifeless plain was a reflection of Jeremiah’s own spiritual experience. In doctrine (apart from the New Covenant) he added little to the teaching of his eighth-century predecessors. He reminded his contemporaries of Micah, and his positive demands recall to us little more than that threefold insistence on justice, love, and holiness which summarizes for us Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah. But Jeremiah was himself greater and more significant than his message. He had received at his call the promise that he should be as a pillar of iron and walls of bronze, and as far as we know, he never once flinched in the face of king, priest, or hostile crowd. It was otherwise in his dealings with his God. His ministry became an intolerable burden to him, an unquenchable and devouring flame within him; like others of his day, he believed that the prophet whose word remained unfulfilled was “ seduced ” by Yahweh himself to his utter ruin, and for forty years Jeremiah’s word was unfulfilled. Not once only, but again and yet again, he struggled to free himself from the toils of divine inspiration, and always in vain. Yet his meaning for the world lies in his very failure to rescue his own soul. Religion implies a relation between God and man, and, in the older view, the human unit was not the individual but the community. Jeremiah, first

¹ iv. 23-26.

of all men, as far as our records go, was cut out from among his people in his spiritual life. He was left alone, and God wrestled with him.

So, out of this agony of spirit, human religion won a new aspect. Historically, it is to the lifelong torture of Jeremiah's soul that man owes one of his most glorious possessions. While the conception of the group or of the community as a religious unit has never been, and must never be, wholly lost, it is the birthright of every individual that he can claim personal fellowship with God. When we realize the incalculable wealth of spiritual life which this discovery has meant to later ages, we shall be inclined to feel that Jeremiah, not through his words, but through his experience, gave the world more than any other single person in the whole history of Israel.

VII. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

There is no book in the Old Testament in which the differences between the MT and the Septuagint are more striking than they are in *Jeremiah*. Hints of this have already been given, and, even here, it is impossible to enter into great detail. It must, however, be said, that the Greek text is very much shorter than the Hebrew; it has been computed that there are about 2700 words in the MT which are not represented¹ in the translation, while the text followed by the translators had about 100 words not found in our present Hebrew texts. In many cases the "omissions" of the Greek are small matters, expansions of the divine name, and occasional words which take little or nothing from the sense. But there are very many instances in which the differences go further than this; in particular, we have already noticed how often the shorter text of the Septuagint gives us a metrical regularity which is lacking in the MT.² In these cases we may assume that the preference lies with the Egyptian tradition. Once or twice we have longer passages omitted in the Septuagint,

¹ Giesebrecht, *Jeremia*, p. xix (1894).

² See above, p. 146.

e.g. xxxiii. 14-26, and in these cases the presumption is that the sections in question have been imported into the MT at a point later than the divergence of the two lines of tradition. But the most striking difference of all is to be found in the arrangement of the oracles against foreign nations. In the MT this collection stands at the end of the book, and the chapters containing it are numbered xli-l. But in the Septuagint they are placed immediately after xxv. 13, verse 14 is omitted altogether, and the text proceeds with xxv. 15 after the foreign oracles have been inserted. Not only so, but the order of the oracles in the two recensions is different. It runs as follows:

<i>MT.</i>	<i>Septuagint.</i>
Egypt	Elam
Philistia	Egypt
Moab	Babylon
Ammon	Philistia
Edom	Edom
Damascus	Ammon
Kedar	Kedar
Elam	Damascus
Babylon	Moab

Differences such as this carry us beyond the borders of textual criticism proper into that of higher criticism. It is useless to discuss which was the original order of the prophecies, or what was the original place of the collection in the completed book. It is fairly clear that this group must have maintained a separate existence until after the divergence of the two texts. Only later than this point in the history of the book was it included in either form, and even then there were two recensions in existence. The Palestinian scribes put it at the end of the book, while those of Egypt, not unnaturally, included it in the short section already devoted to the same subject, displacing a verse (xxv. 14) which was no longer necessary.

THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS

I. TITLE AND PLACE IN THE CANON

LIKE the books of the Pentateuch, the book of *Lamentations* derives its name in the Hebrew Bible from its first word, 'Ekah—"How!" It is, however, often referred to under the descriptive title *Qinoth*—"Dirges," which is a fairly accurate description of its contents.

In the Hebrew Canon it is included among the "Five Rolls," where it is placed third, following *Ruth* and preceding *Ecclesiastes*. In the Septuagint and practically all other versions it is placed immediately after the book of *Jeremiah*. This is due to the theory that Jeremiah was its author.

II. CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE

The book consists of five poems, of which the first four deal with the desolate state of Jerusalem during and after the siege of 587-6 B.C., while the last is a prayer which might be interpreted as referring to the same period.

The first four poems are all alphabetic acrostics, but each has its own peculiar character.

Ch. i is arranged in three-line stanzas, in *Qinah*¹ metre, each stanza beginning with its own letter of the alphabet. The letters are in the usual order. The poem is a lament over the sad plight in which Jerusalem, representing the people, finds itself. The writer contemplates now this, now that, part of the nation—the pitiable state of those left in the home-land, and the sorrow of those in exile; in each case the visitation has come upon the people because of sin (i. 5). But the thought of sin and of Yahweh is only fleeting; the poet's heart is over-full with grief as he contemplates the forlorn and disconsolate city, once so proud

¹ See above, pp. 142 f.

in her glory, the envy of all, now bowed down in humiliation and sorrow; her foes triumphant within her, and her children starving; and the writer pathetically appeals for the pity of all who pass by (i. 12). His main thought is not of sin, but of the present distress; and this leads him to cry out for vengeance against the enemies who have caused it (i. 22).

Ch. ii resembles ch. i in form, save that in the alphabetical order the letter נ comes before ו instead of after it. In this lament the main theme is similar to that of the preceding. Very prominent in the earlier portion is the emphasis laid on the part that Yahweh has taken in the punishment of the city. Noticeable also is the contention that one cause of the great calamity is to be sought in the remissness of the prophets for not having warned the people (ii. 14). As a final result of this the outlook is dark and hopeless; one thing, and one only, there is now left to do: let heartfelt supplication be made to God (ii. 18-20). Striking is the fact that in this dirge there is scarcely any reference, to sin; and the cry for vengeance on the enemy is absent.

Ch. iii. This piece differs markedly from the rest of the poems. It is composed in single lines, with no true strophic arrangement. The lines, however, are grouped in threes, and each of the three in every group begins with the appropriate letter. Taken as a whole, therefore, the poem is arranged in sixty-six single-line verses, instead of being in twenty-two three-line verses as are chs. i and ii. But it seems probable that this was not its original form; it may well be that we have here a collection of four psalms; three are "individual" psalms, like the "I"-psalms in the *Psalter* (verses 1-24, 25-39, 52-66), and one is spoken in the name of the people (verses 40-51). Löhr suggests a slightly different arrangement; he thinks that there were originally two psalms (verses 1-24 and 52-66) in which the compiler makes Jeremiah address the people; and he shows by a comparison with various passages in the book of *Jeremiah* that the author did intend to make Jeremiah the speaker. The psalm in verses 25-51 he believes to be the composition of the compiler, who finally made the whole

an acrostic.¹ There are many points of similarity between these compositions and some of the *Psalms* (see especially Pss. lxxxviii and cxliii). It is quite possible that in its present form the poem was used in the Temple Liturgy.

Ch. iv resembles ch. ii closely, except that each stanza contains two lines instead of three. The lament over Jerusalem and its inhabitants is taken up again; sin is once more declared to be the cause of all that has come upon the land and the people. All, prophets, priests, and people, have sinned. According to verse 22, however, the chastisement has come to an end, and Israel is no more in captivity, while Edom, Israel's inveterate foe, will suffer for her iniquity (verses 21, 22).

Ch. v is not a dirge, but a prayer for deliverance from tribulation. Though it contains twenty-two verses, the right number for an alphabetic acrostic, there is no sign of the acrostic itself. Each verse contains a single 3:3 line.

III. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

Tradition assigned the whole of the book to Jeremiah. This seems to be based on a misinterpretation of ii Chron. xxxv. 25—"And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations, unto this day; and they made them an ordinance in Israel: and, behold, they are written in the lamentations." Whatever these "lamentations" were, they cannot have been those preserved in our book, for we have here no reference to Josiah. Nor is it easy to believe that Jeremiah was the author of any of them. Though the passionate feeling expressed, especially in chs. ii and iv, reminds us of the prophet, the style is entirely unlike anything that we can confidently assign to him. The artificial device of the acrostic, while it does not necessarily conflict with a high degree of genuine feeling, would be unnatural to such a poet as we know Jeremiah to have been. Further, the thought is sometimes at variance with

¹ ZATW for 1904, pp. 1 ff.

that which we associate with the prophet.¹ Finally, we may observe that it is very improbable that all five poems are the work of a single author.

Of the five chapters, ii and iv seem to be the nearest in date to the calamity which they describe, and are, possibly, the work of the same author. The writer has lived through the horrors of the siege and sack of Jerusalem, and, though some time has now elapsed, and the first poignant anguish is over, the poems are an expression of deep sorrow. Ch. i seems to be somewhat later, it fails to reach quite the same high literary standard; moreover, the different order in the alphabet suggests a different author from the writer of chs. ii and iv. Ch. iii is later still, and may even come from the period after the return from the Exile. And, finally, ch. v might have come from any one of a number of periods in the history of Israel when the people were distressed by cruel oppression.

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

The Hebrew text of *Lamentations* has been well preserved, and there are few places where we suspect serious corruption. The Septuagint often suggests a variation, but a fair proportion of these instances are demonstrably due to corruption during the transmission of the Greek text itself, and do not indicate that the translators had a Hebrew text different from ours.

¹ For a summary of the discussion, see Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. 433-435.

THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL

I. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

IN its broad outlines the book consists of two main divisions :

i-xxiv deals with the approaching fall of Jerusalem and the dissolution of the State, while xxv-xlviii (apart from xxv-xxxii) has for its central theme the restoration of Jerusalem and the reconstitution of the State as a religious community.

These two main divisions may be sub-divided as follows :

i-xi: The prophet's call; the announcement of the fall of Jerusalem and of the fate of its inhabitants as a punishment for their idolatrous worship, in consequence of which Yahweh departs from "the midst of the city" (xi. 23).

xii-xix: A continuation of the same theme; prophets, priests, people and rulers have all gone astray; retribution will come upon them; a special denunciation is uttered against Jerusalem, the "harlot" (xvi).

xx-xxiv: A further denunciation of the people for their many sins, and reiterated prophecies of the fall of the city.

xxv-xxxii: Oracles against the surrounding nations.

xxxiii-xxxix: In the main, these chapters contain promises of restoration; but xxxiv. 1-22 is a denunciation against the "shepherds of Israel," and xxxv is a prophecy of the destruction of Edom.

xl-xlviii: The ideal Temple, and (xlvii, xlviii) the renewed fertility of the land when Yahweh comes to dwell once more among His people.

II. THE EZEKIEL PROBLEM

Strictly speaking there are two problems which present themselves in our book: (a) the historical situation; (b) the person of the prophet; but, as will be seen, the solution

of the former necessarily brings with it the solution of the latter. Nevertheless, for the sake of clearness, we will indicate each separately.

(a) Ezekiel is represented as living among the exiles in Babylon who were deported in 597 B.C. The theme of his preaching is the coming destruction of Jerusalem. But though he is living in Babylon he addresses himself exclusively to the people in Jerusalem in chs. i-xxiv. He has no word of comfort or encouragement to those exiles among whom he is living; however deserving the people of Jerusalem were of the prophet's denunciation, it must strike one as strange that he has nothing to say to those of his immediate surroundings. A prophet always exercised his ministry by word of mouth to those among whom he lived; here they are ignored, while he addresses himself to a far-off audience who cannot hear him, and performs symbolic actions for the instruction of those who cannot see him. Under such circumstances how can Ezekiel be regarded as a prophet in the true sense? And yet in these first twenty-four chapters everything points to Ezekiel as a prophet exercising his activity face to face with his people; he speaks as if in their very midst, his words pulsate with passion; the earnestness and sincerity of his utterances, generated by a sense of responsibility, do not read like a written message penned far away from the scene of action. So that, explain the matter as we may, the problem is there.

(b) And closely connected with this is the question as to what we are to make of the prophet as depicted in the book. On the one hand, as we have just seen, the book represents Ezekiel as a prophet in the truest sense of the word; on the other hand, much that we read in the book is of a purely literary character, the outcome of calm reflection, and it is difficult to see how the writer of chs. i-xxiv, which record prophetic activity, can be the same as the meditative philosopher who expresses his thoughts in the later chapters. This twofold problem, therefore, turns upon the question of authorship.

III. AUTHORSHIP

Up to within recent years it was held almost unanimously that the book of *Ezekiel* was a literary unity. A notable exception was Ewald, who pointed to the contrast between the two main divisions of the book, the former representing clearly the utterances of a prophet, the latter, however, not suggesting the picture of a prophet active among his people, but rather one given to literary labours; the implication was that unity of authorship could with difficulty be postulated. But from the time that Ewald wrote, three-quarters of a century ago, until comparatively recently, he had few, if any, to follow him. Thus, McFadyen, in the latest edition of his *Introduction*, writes: "We have in *Ezekiel* the rare satisfaction of studying a carefully elaborated prophecy whose authenticity has, till recently, been practically undisputed. It is not impossible that there are, as Kraetzschmar maintains, occasional doublets, e.g. ii. 3-7 and iii. 4-9; but these, in any case, are very few and hardly affect the question of authenticity. The order and precision of the priestly mind are reflected in the unusually systematic arrangement of the book."¹ McFadyen remarks, however, in reference to the problems raised by Hölscher,² James Smith,³ and Torrey,⁴ that "the new problems raised by these scholars have not yet had time to receive adequate discussion."⁵ It will be worth while to set in review quite briefly the opinions regarding its authorship held by some recent writers on the subject. We may begin with Kraetzschmar, though his work was published some time ago.⁶ He argues strongly against literary unity, pointing to the many instances in which the narrative breaks off incontinently, to the large number of chapters in which want of order is discernible, and to numerous parallel texts and doublets; he also draws attention to several sections in

¹ *Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 187 (1932).

² *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch* (1924).

³ *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (1931).

⁴ *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (1930).

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁶ *Das Buch Ezechiel* (1900).

the book which have opening and closing *formulae*, giving the impression that they are independent pieces. He concludes that there were two recensions of the book, in one of which the prophet spoke in the first person, in the other he is spoken of in the third person;¹ that, therefore, Ezekiel cannot have put the book together himself, but that this was done by a redactor who made various alterations and additions. Herrmann² agrees with Kraetzschmar in not regarding the book as a connected literary production, but disagrees entirely with the conclusion drawn from this. He points to the fact that the books of *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* contain collections of independent sections which are the work of these prophets, respectively, and maintains that the same is the case with *Ezekiel*. He holds that the book was put together by degrees by Ezekiel himself, who made alterations, modifications and corrections from time to time; he sees, therefore, no need for the two recensions theory of Kraetzschmar. This remodelling theory of Herrmann's will account, as he maintains, for all the literary difficulties presented in the book; the many marks of the redactor's hand he fully recognizes. Herrmann agrees, therefore, with the hitherto dominant view as to unity of authorship, though he would assign more to the work of the redactor than has, until recently, generally been the case.

Much more drastic is Hölscher's treatment of the book; he insists that a more rigorous distinction must be made between the prophet's writing and the redactional elements, of which there are various kinds. Hölscher maintains that in the first instance a redactor worked over the book in its original form, making numerous additions; then, from time to time, other editors added their quota, the last of these being one who belonged to the Deuteronomic school of thought, but who attempted to imitate the style and thought of Ezekiel much in the same way as Trito-Isaiah wrote under the influence of Deutero-Isaiah. This redactor

¹ As a matter of fact there are but two instances in which Ezekiel is spoken of in the third person (i. 3; xxiv. 24), and in the second of these it is in a speech of Yahweh's.

² *Ezekiel* (1924).

is held to have lived in the fifth century. Hölscher's discernment and ingenuity demand every recognition, but his work is vitiated by arbitrary assumptions which lack adequate proof; thus, for example, he insists that Ezekiel was not a prophet in the ordinary sense, but a poet, and therefore only the poetical passages in the book belong to him; and sometimes he manipulates the text (*e.g.* in xv, xvi) in an unwarrantable way in order to make poetry out of prose. A poet, he argues, does not mix up symbolism and concrete fact, therefore any passage in which this appears cannot belong to Ezekiel; it must be the work of a redactor. Very arbitrary is Hölscher's contention that the doctrine of individual responsibility must be post-exilic, and that therefore any passage in which this is dealt with cannot have been written by Ezekiel. There are various other instances of *à priori* assumptions which necessitate the relegation of many passages to the hands of redactors; in the final result only about a sixth of the book is assigned to Ezekiel himself.

Far more sober is Kittel's¹ treatment of the book; he believes that its literary problems can be solved by recognizing that Ezekiel's experiences in the two very different environments of Palestine and Babylonia generated in him a kind of dual personalty; he was a priest, but he had to turn his back on the functions of the priesthood; he was a prophet, yet his thoughts constantly reverted to the Temple; Babylonia was so different from Palestine. He was thus a prophet full of burning passion; yet he was a priest full of pedantic casuistry, a theologian who reflected in calm consideration. Moreover, he was a poet, not wanting in poetic ardour, yet often descending to wearisome prose. These different elements in the personality of Ezekiel, due to the great change of environment, explain, according to Kittel, some otherwise puzzling features in the book. He holds, therefore, apart from redactional elements, to unity of authorship.

A very different picture is presented by Torrey.² In one

¹ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. pp. 144-180 (1927).

² *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (1930).

important respect he puts forth a theory which is likely to be widely accepted. He argues with much force that we have in chs. i-xxiv (apart from redactional elements) a prophecy uttered in Jerusalem; the theme of these chapters, as we have seen, is the coming calamity upon the city; the hearers are addressed as a "rebellious house," and the "prophet"—though not, according to Torrey, Ezekiel—is spoken of as dwelling "in the midst of a rebellious house" (xii. 2); that Jerusalem is meant is universally recognized. The most obvious and natural conclusion is that the prophecy was uttered in Jerusalem, and that the people addressed were the inhabitants of the city. Were it not for what is said in i. 1-3, a confessedly worked-over passage, and certain other references in the book to Babylonia, nobody would think of denying that Ezekiel had lived and worked in Jerusalem during some period of his life before being taken with the exiles to Babylonia. This part of Torrey's argument (excepting his refusal to regard Ezekiel as the prophet in question) must be regarded as convincing. But apart from this his thesis is quite unacceptable. He maintains that our book is a pseudepigraphic work written about 230 B.C. by one who gave it the appearance of having been penned by a prophet during the reign of Manasseh (696-641 B.C.). This supposed late author is represented as wishing to show that the people were warned by the fictitious prophet about the coming calamity on Jerusalem. The author, according to Torrey, took ii Kgs. xxi. 1-17 as his starting-point; on this he constructed his work of fiction. Subsequently a redactor worked over this book, though as little as possible, and skilfully interpolated various passages in order to give it a Babylonian dress. Apart from these interpolations, which Torrey finds no difficulty in designating, the book forms a literary unity.¹

James Smith² offers a very different, but likewise original view; he holds that Ezekiel's prophetic activity extended approximately from 722-669 B.C., partly in Palestine and partly among the *northern* exiles; in each of these two

¹ A searching criticism of Torrey's work is offered by Shalom Spiegel in *The Harvard Theological Review*, Oct. 1931, pp. 245-321.

² *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (1931).

centres he composed oracles, one set in Palestine and the other among the exiles in Assyria from the northern kingdom; both were artificially united together by a redactor. In confirmation of this James Smith recalls the tradition preserved by Josephus (*Antiq.* x. 79), that Ezekiel wrote two books, and the Jewish belief that Ezekiel's prophetic activity commenced in Palestine. According to this view Ezekiel was not connected with Judah and Jerusalem, but with northern Israel and Gerizim. That Ezekiel worked as a prophet in Jerusalem is believed, on the other hand, by Hertrich¹ to have been the case, and he also disagrees with James Smith regarding the period of the prophet's activity, as well as with Torrey's views. He holds that Ezekiel exercised his prophetic office in Jerusalem during the years 593-586 B.C., and that chs. ii-xxiv, in the main (see below), and xxv-xxxix belong to him. These Jerusalem prophecies were later worked over by an exilic redactor who clothed them in a Babylonian dress; he was responsible for ch. i, for the framework of the vision of Ezekiel's call in chs. ii, iii, similarly for the Babylonian elements in chs. viii and xi, for xxxiii. 21-23, and with "considerable probability" for chs. xl-xlvi. Besides this, the exilic redactor's hand is to be discerned in various other minor additions;² it is also probable that still later redactors have in numerous instances further amplified, and sometimes corrupted, the text; this, however, applies mainly to chs. xl-xlvi. The contents of the book, in Hertrich's view, present us with the pictures of two different worlds: the world of the genuine Judæan prophet, and the world of the exilic redactor; the latter has constructed a framework around the genuine prophecy, and by means of theosophical speculations and a widely embracing scheme of revelation, has sought to prove the unity of his God in opposition to the Babylonian pantheon. Signs of his work are to be discerned throughout the book; the genuine prophecy forms the central picture around which the redactor has constructed his framework; at the close of the book he has added his religious programme of the future,

¹ *Ezechielprobleme* (1932).

² E.g. xiv. 21-23, xxxiii. 30-33.

which is not a prophecy, but a "sacerdotal" polity. Thus, our book received its present form in Babylonia. It is probable, though this cannot be proved, that Ezekiel was among the exiles of one of the later deportations, and brought with him his written prophecies;¹ this would explain how they came into the hands of the Babylonian redactor.

Whether Hertrich's conclusions be accepted or not, it must be allowed that they go a long way in solving the problem of the book.

IV. THE PERSONALITY OF EZEKIEL

As already pointed out, this presents us with a second problem closely connected with the preceding. Taking the book as it stands there is much to show that Ezekiel was a prophet pure and simple; there is also much to show that he was a writer and nothing else; and there is, furthermore, much to show that he was a mystic. While it must be recognized that it is possible for the characteristics of the prophet, the author, and the mystic to be centred in one man, it will not be denied that this is a very difficult and improbable combination. To the question of the mystic we shall turn presently; apart from this there are, broadly speaking, two views held with regard to Ezekiel: to many earlier critics, who saw in the book purely a literary production, Ezekiel was no prophet, but only a writer, who constructed an artificial picture; and since, according to some who held this view, the city had already fallen when he wrote, his "prophecy" was nothing more than a literary device. With this view many scholars, foremost among whom is Herrmann, disagree; he protests that one must have but a meagre apprehension of the power of religious witness not to discern the impassioned fervour which quivers in many of Ezekiel's utterances, prompted as they were by

¹ In further support of Hertrich's view, we may point out that, except for some rather long and artificially constructed poems, the book belongs in form to what we have called type C (see above, p. 229), the prophetic message delivered in prose and placed in the first person. As we have observed elsewhere, it seems probable that this was the form which a prophet's oracles assumed when he himself was responsible for their being written down, whether he did the work himself, or whether he dictated it to a scribe. This would account for the form the book assumed in such portions as were really Ezekiel's.

the needs and conditions of the times. "His historical-philosophic solution of the cause of the present tragic state of affairs is anything but the theorizing product of the study," says Herrmann; on the contrary, it is clearly the outcome of practical experience, intended to be of present help and service. Similarly, when he deals with the subject of individual responsibility and retribution; this is not the product of quiet meditation and calm reflection; it is forced upon the prophet through the dire reality of what he sees around him.

It will, therefore, be seen, that the view taken of the prophet's personality has a direct bearing upon the literary problem which the book presents.

But there is one other matter in connexion with Ezekiel which demands attention. In Ezek. viii. 1 ff. we read: "And it came to pass . . . as I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, that the hand of the Lord God fell upon me . . . and he put forth an hand, and took me by a lock of mine head; and the spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven, and brought me in the visions of God to Jerusalem. . . ." In the chapters which follow a vivid description is given of what the prophet sees in Jerusalem. It is nowhere told how Ezekiel was brought back to Babylonia, though in ch. xiv it is clear that he is again in the land of exile (cp. verse 1 with viii. 1). How is the strange narrative here contained to be explained? Many solutions have been attempted; they fall, roughly, into two categories. It is held by some that Ezekiel was psychically abnormal and had the gift of second sight, so that we have here a case of clairvoyance. Others insist that the apparently supernatural episodes are to be explained on simpler and more rational lines. As perhaps the best representative of the former point of view Kittel¹ may be designated. He acknowledges that modern scientific psychologists do not recognize the existence of occurrences such as are told of Ezekiel; if such are recorded, it is contended that they are mere coincidences or pure chicanery. Kittel does not dogmatize, but in view of the advance of

¹ *Op. cit.*, iii. 147.

knowledge in the domain of psychology and of modern conceptions of time and space, he doubts whether we are justified in denying the possibility of clairvoyance; or in refusing to recognize any element of mystery in connexion with such a confessedly remarkable personality as that of Ezekiel. He recalls the interesting narrative of xxiv. 15-27; here the prophet foresees in a vision the death of his wife, and is told that he is to regard this as a symbol of what is to overtake the people, and that his dumbness will pass (cp. iii. 24-26). While this may certainly be regarded as a genuine case of clairvoyance, it can hardly be contended that it stands in the same category as the former narrative. A somewhat different explanation is offered by other scholars; ¹ it is rightly pointed out that there were abnormal elements in the personality of Ezekiel; he had periods of unconsciousness, and that he suffered from catalepsy is evident. It is known that people thus afflicted will remain sometimes for weeks bereft of the faculty of speech and of movement, though they do not necessarily lose consciousness altogether, but apprehend to some extent what is going on around them; sometimes, too, this state is attended by hallucinations; moreover, at such times both sight and hearing may be affected; though, on the other hand, cases are on record in which, when in a state of catalepsy, the patient's perceptive faculties become in some inexplicable way abnormally acute. From our book it may be gathered, according to this view, that all these things would apply in the case of Ezekiel; while in some such condition he could well have believed himself to have been transported to Jerusalem.

As to the other school of thought a number of opinions are expressed; they may be summarized thus: it is held by some that the visions must be regarded as realities, but that the prophet adopts the device of making it appear that he was in the presence of the people of Jerusalem; in other words, he places himself in imagination in the home-land. Another explanation is that the visions were not really experienced, but that they are a purely literary

¹ E.g. Meinhold, *Einführung in das Alte Testament*, p. 260 (1932).

description of an imaginary picture constructed by the prophet.

A different view is put forward by recent commentators who maintain that the hand of the redactor is to be seen in the accounts of the visions; it is said that Ezekiel experienced these visions while still in Jerusalem, and that he wrote them down before he was taken to Babylonia; then at some later time a redactor—one of the exiles—added the passages about Ezekiel being transported to Jerusalem, since from this redactor's point of view Ezekiel was in Babylonia when he received the visions.

The subject is a difficult one, for much is to be said for and against the various theories held; whichever is adopted must to some extent depend upon the view taken of the literary problem; if the book is a literary unity, as most earlier scholars held, then one must accept in a literal sense all that the prophet says about his abnormal experiences, however one may explain them. The more modern view as to the composition of the book, though this is not yet quite free from difficulties, makes the whole subject much easier to understand.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion to which we are led by the study of recent investigations of our book may, in general outline and omitting details, be put thus: Ezekiel began his ministry in Jerusalem soon after Jehoiakim's revolt against Nebuchadnezzar in 602 B.C.¹ His denunciations against the people of Jerusalem and his prophecies of the fall of the city were soon after put into writing by the prophet himself. In 597 B.C. he was carried captive to Babylonia, and took with him his written prophecies. While in exile he added to his writings prophecies of restoration; these were addressed to his fellow-exiles; but whether they were written before or after the fall of the city in 586 B.C. cannot be stated with certainty.² At some later period during the Exile the prophet's writings came into the hands of one

¹ According to others 598 B.C.

² Herntrich maintains that "in no case may we assume that Ezekiel exercised his prophetic activity after 586" (*op. cit.*, p. 126).

of his co-religionists who edited them in such a way as to make it appear that the whole material was written in Babylonia. Further minor additions were made still later by one or more redactors.

This represents, for the most part, Hertrich's standpoint; to him students of the book of *Ezekiel* will be permanently indebted.

VI. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

The trustworthiness and importance of the Septuagint, and therefore its value for the study of the Hebrew text, have been amply shown by Cornill,¹ after a minute examination and comparison of the two. As illustrating the honesty of the translator it is found that in many cases, rather than make a guess at the meaning of an unfamiliar word, he transliterates the Hebrew; in numberless cases he follows the Hebrew by giving minute equivalents, such as particles, etc.; often he gives literal translations of the Hebrew which make almost incomprehensible Greek; in such cases it is usually easy to discern the form of the underlying Hebrew text. On the other hand, free translations are frequent, and many small additions are made in order to make the language of the translation run more smoothly. Further, at times whole sections, some short, others long, occur in which the translation is freer than that of the immediate context, almost giving the impression that a different translator had been at work (*e.g.* iii. 3-7, xxxiii. 5, 6, 22, 32).

In the numerous cases in which the Massoretic text has words or sentences which do not occur in the Septuagint it may be confidently asserted that these did not figure in the form of the Hebrew text used by the Greek translator.

There is thus no doubt that both in general as well as in detail the Septuagint is an absolutely faithful translation, and therefore a trustworthy witness of the Hebrew text extant in Alexandria during the third pre-Christian century; its value for text-critical purposes can scarcely be overestimated.

¹ *Das Buch des Propheten Ezekiel*, pp. 96-103 (1886).

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

IN the Hebrew Canon *Daniel* does not figure among the *Nebi'im* ("Prophets"), but towards the end of the third division, *Kethubim* ("Writings"),¹ viz. *Daniel*, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, *i ii Chronicles*. Although in the later Jewish lists of the order of the Biblical books there are some variations in this third division, the position of *Daniel* never varies; it always comes immediately before *Ezra-Nehemiah*, almost at the end of the list.² In the Septuagint, Cod. B has *Daniel* at the end of the whole list; but in Cod. A, with a great following, it comes after *Ezekiel* among the prophets; and this order, so far as *Daniel* is concerned, is followed in the Patristic and Synodical lists of the Western Church.³ This is the order in the Vulgate, and is followed by the English versions.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The struggle between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic dynasties for the conquest of Syria ended with the victory of Antiochus iii at the battle of Panion (199 B.C.) over the Egyptian forces led by Scopas. We have but little knowledge of the internal state of Jewish affairs during the reign of Antiochus iii and of his son Seleucus iv; but the little that we do know is significant and highly suggestive, and it is of importance for the understanding of the subsequent history. During the later part of the reign of Antiochus iii we have the earliest indications of the rivalry between the houses of Onias and Tobias. The original root of this rivalry is to be traced to the fact that while the High-priesthood was

¹ See above, p. 5.

² Ryle, *The Canon of the Old Testament*, p. 280 (1892).

³ See Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 210-214 (1900).

vested in the family of Onias, the important office of tax-farmer was possessed by Joseph of the house of Tobias, first under Ptolemy iv, and, after the conquest, under Antiochus iii. The two highest offices in the State, the spiritual and the financial—the latter by far the more influential under the circumstances of the times—were thus held by representatives of these two houses respectively. For those Jews who were loyal to their faith the spiritual head was naturally the real head of the community; but for the hellenized Jews the holder of the purse, who received his appointment from the king, and who represented the nation before its suzerain, was the more important functionary. It will be readily understood that with the existence of two supreme officers of State, independent of each other, and with diverse interests, occasions of friction might easily arise; and this would more especially be the case when the two parties had opposed religious views. Greek influence had already been exercised on certain sections of the Jews for some time previously.¹ The house of Onias, supported by the *Hasidim*, the “pious ones,” was loyal to the Law, and strict in its adherence to the ancestral religion; opposed to the orthodox party were the partisans of the house of Tobias, who favoured Greek ideas and practices. It was at the instigation of a hellenistic Jew, Simon, of the tribe of Benjamin, that the attempt was made by Seleucus iv to appropriate the Temple treasures; he sent his “chancellor,” Heliodorus, to lay hands on these; the attempt failed, owing to what was believed to be some supernatural appearance.² The episode is important as showing that the Syrian ruler could count on the support of pro-Greek Jews in his dealings with his Jewish subjects. It also shows that there existed at this time a very unsatisfactory state of affairs among the Jews themselves; indeed, the bitterness between the two parties must have reached serious proportions, for very shortly after this the High Priest, who was now Onias iii, found it necessary

¹ Hecataeus of Abdera (*circa* 300 B.C.) records: “Under the later rule of the Persians and of the Macedonians, who overthrew the empire of the former, many of the traditional customs of the Jews were altered owing to their intercourse with aliens.”

² See ii Macc. iii. 1–13, 22–30; Simon was the “guardian of the Temple.”

to journey to Antioch for the purpose of inducing Seleucus iv to intervene and to put an end to the unrest that was going on in Jerusalem. It was at this time, in 176-5 B.C., that Heliodorus headed a conspiracy against Seleucus, and murdered him. With the accession of his brother, Antiochus iv Epiphanes, a very critical period for the Jews dawned; for the hellenistic Jews found in him an ally who supported them whole-heartedly in their conflict with their orthodox brethren.

The absence of Onias iii from Jerusalem (whither he had gone while Seleucus iv was still living) at the accession of Antiochus iv was taken advantage of by Jason, the brother of Onias, to secure for himself the High-priesthood; he succeeded ultimately in this by offering a bribe to the king; the bribe was accompanied by a request which Jason knew would appeal, viz. for permission to establish a gymnasium on Greek lines in Jerusalem and to have the inhabitants of the city registered as citizens of Antioch; the account continues: "And when the king had given assent, and he (Jason) had gotten possession of the office, he forthwith brought over them of his own race to the Greek fashion."¹ It will be noted that the initiative in the movement to hellenize the Jews is taken, not by Antiochus, but by the leader of the Jewish hellenistic party. The appointment to the High-priesthood by the king, quite apart from the fact that the true High Priest was still living, was, naturally enough, bitterly resented by the orthodox party, and served to intensify the mutual hatred between them and their hellenistic brethren. For three years Jason retained the High-priesthood; then Menelaus, by offering a higher bribe to the king, received the office. Jason had to flee from Jerusalem.² In order to raise the money for his bribe to the king, Menelaus plundered the Temple treasury; Onias, the legitimate High Priest, rebuked him for this; but Menelaus revenged himself by having him murdered. In the meantime, Jason, who had taken refuge in Ammonite territory, had not given up hopes of regaining the High-

¹ ii Macc. iv. 7-10, and cp. i Macc. i. 11-15.

² ii Macc. iv. 23-29.

priesthood; his opportunity occurred in 169 B.C., when he heard that Antiochus, who was warring in Egypt, had fallen in battle. He hastened to Jerusalem, and drove out Menelaus. But the rumour about the death of Antiochus was false; he returned at the end of the year, and vented his wrath on the orthodox Jews for receiving Jason back by appropriating many of the Temple vessels; afterwards he instituted a "great slaughter."¹ Jason managed to escape, and Menelaus was confirmed in the High-priesthood. Further trouble, however, broke out, for the Jews refused to recognize Menelaus. Although Jason had been illegally appointed, according to the Jewish law, he was at least a member of the High-priestly family, and on the death of Onias iii the Jews recognized him; but Menelaus could make no such claim; the orthodox Jews would therefore have nothing to do with him. Tumults broke out in Jerusalem, and the position of Menelaus became precarious. The king had to protect him by sending a Syrian official, Apollonius by name,² to take vigorous measures against the orthodox Jews.

It is necessary here to take note that the immediate cause of Antiochus' step was a political, not a religious one; in refusing to acknowledge the king's nominee to the High-priesthood the Jews were, from the king's point of view, committing an act of rebellion; that had to be punished, and from i Macc. i. 30-32 it is clear that the cruelties perpetrated were merely a vindictive object-lesson to show the consequences of disobedience. What followed must be put down, in the first instance, to the hellenistic Jews; from what is said in i Macc. i. 30-40 one can see that the *religious* question which now came to the fore was due to these hellenistic Jews; they seized the opportunity to combat orthodox Judaism; Antiochus, an ardent Hellenist, was only too ready to take a lead in this, and he did so with fanatical ardour. He forbade the observance of the Sabbath and the practice of circumcision; the worship of the Temple was abrogated, copies of the Scriptures were destroyed, to possess them was for-

¹ i Macc. i. 20-28.

² ii Macc. v. 24; cp. i Macc. i. 29.

bidden, the Temple was laid waste, the city walls were thrown down, and a fortress was erected which overlooked the Temple enclosure; heathen altars were commanded to be set up all over the land upon which swine's flesh was to be offered. Disobedience involved the death sentence. To crown all, an altar to the Olympian Zeus was placed upon the altar in the Temple.

These cruel measures had the effect of inducing many Jews to deny their faith; among the greater number who resisted many were put to death.¹ This resistance was at first passive; but that could not last, and very soon resolute action was taken against the oppressors. The revolt was started by Mattathias and his five sons at a village named Modein, near Lydda; they were at once joined by the loyal Jews from all parts of the country, the *Hasidim* are especially mentioned.² The religious fervour and the valour of Mattathias' followers enabled them to achieve some remarkable initial successes; but these untrained bands, poorly armed and numerically inferior, could not expect to cope successfully for any length of time with the Syrian forces; if ultimate success were to be attained it must be by divine intervention. It was at this critical time, in the year 166-5 B.C., that the book of *Daniel* was written to encourage the loyal Jews in their resistance to their enemies, and to give the promise of the overthrow of Antiochus and the Seleucid empire, and the establishment in the near future of God's kingdom on earth.

III. AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

In what has been said the date of the book has been assumed; it will now be necessary to give the reasons for assigning the book to the year 166-5 B.C.

The author of our book purports to be one of the exiles at the court of Nebuchadrezzar and his successors. It will, therefore, be necessary, first, to show that this is not to be taken literally.

¹ 1 Macc. i. 41-64.

² 1 Macc. ii. 42.

The author makes erroneous statements about the history of the sixth century B.C., which would be incredible on the part of one who had really lived during that period; thus, in the opening verse of the book Nebuchadrezzar is said to have besieged Jerusalem and to have captured the city in the third year of Jehoiakim, *i.e.* 605 B.C. But this did not happen until 597 B.C. when Jehoiachin was king. Again, in v. 2 Nebuchadrezzar is spoken of as the father of Belshazzar; but Nabonidus, not Nebuchadrezzar, was the father of Belshazzar. In v. 1, 30 Belshazzar is called "king," but he was never king; the inscriptions speak of him as "Crown Prince." In v. 30, 31 Darius, represented as the ruler of the Median Empire (!), is made to succeed Belshazzar; the writer presumably did not know that Cyrus and Cambyses reigned before Darius. In addition, three points of less importance likewise show that the writer's knowledge of this historical period was very faulty: in a number of verses (i. 4; ii. 2, 4, 5, 10; iv. 7; v. 7, 11) the term Chaldeans is used in reference to a caste of wise men; as Charles says: "This use of the word is unparalleled throughout the rest of the Old Testament, and there is no trace of it in the inscriptions."¹ The writer assumes that the court language at Babylon was Aramaic; to quote Charles again: "The wise men would have addressed the king in Babylonian or Assyrian, which is declared in Jer. v. 15, Isa. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 19, to be unintelligible to a Jew."² And finally, he uses the Persian title "satrap" as though it were a Babylonian one.³

It is, therefore, extremely difficult to believe that any writer could be so ignorant of the history of his times as this writer would have been had he lived in the sixth century; so that when he represents himself as having lived at that time he does so for a particular purpose, to be spoken of later.

On the other hand, our author has an accurate knowledge of the history of the Greek period down to and including

¹ *A Critical and exegetical commentary on the Book of Daniel*, p. 14 (1929); Charles holds that אֲרַמִּית in ii. 4 is a corruption of יִבְרִית.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ See, further, Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes;¹ the details which he gives agree with other historical sources. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that he lived during the period of which he has an accurate knowledge; and, as the details of ch. xi show, the actual time at which he wrote must have been shortly before the end of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, for he does not record his death (163 B.C.); this he would certainly have mentioned had he written after the death of this king. But a more exact date can be given: from viii. 11 ff. it is clear that the author wrote after the erection of the heathen altar in the Temple on the 15 Chisleu (= December), 168-7 B.C., and before the dedication of the new altar on the 25 Chisleu 165-4 B.C.; as the Jewish year began in the spring, the exact year, according to our reckoning, will be 165-4 B.C.² The late date of the book is supported by the form of both languages; the Aramaic is held by expert opinion to be of a later type than that of the book of *Ezra*; ³ similarly, the Hebrew is of a late date and poor style, quite different from the exilic writings of Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah.

Whether the whole book comes from one hand or whether the narratives are of different authorship from that of the visions is difficult to decide; but Charles in his exhaustive study of the subject offers a strong plea for unity of authorship, and in this respect Rowley agrees with him. There is, however, an increasing consensus of opinion that the book is composite; the arguments of those who hold this view are not always convincing, and they clash with one another on important points.⁴

In common with all the apocalyptic writers our author issued his book under an assumed name. Various reasons have been put forward to account for these pseudonymous titles; the most convincing is that given by Charles. He points out, firstly, that when once the Law had assumed absolute supremacy, "the prophets were practically reduced to a position of being merely its ex-

¹ For details see Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-322.

² See Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

³ See Rowley, *The Aramaic of the Old Testament*, passim (1929).

⁴ See Rowley, *ZATW*, 1932 (pp. 259 f.).

ponents, and prophecy, assuming a literary character, might bear its author's name or be anonymous." Then, when the Law claimed to be "all-sufficient for time and eternity . . . there was no room left for new light and inspiration, or any fresh or further disclosure of God's will; in short, no room for the true prophet. . . ." ¹ So that if a servant of God felt that he had a message to offer his people, there was no chance of his obtaining a hearing unless he wrote under the name of one or other of the great ones of the past. He might, moreover, well feel convinced that what he had to say expressed what the patriarchs of old and other worthies of the past would have thought and said. That would seem to account satisfactorily for the pseudonymous titles of this and other apocalyptic books.

IV. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

The two main divisions of the book are: i-vi and vii-xii; the former contains narratives, the latter visions.

i. 1-19. Introductory narrative. Jehoiakim and many other Jews are carried captive to Babylon. Nebuchadrezzar shows favour to certain of the noble Jewish youths; among these are Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. These, out of loyalty to the Jewish Law, refuse the food provided for them by the king. In spite of the simple fare which they choose in place of the king's bounty, they appear stronger in every way than those who partake of the royal food. They are received into the king's favour. Verses 20, 21 belong before the words of ii. 49, "but Daniel was in the gate of the king."

ii. 1-49; i. 20, 21. Nebuchadrezzar seeks from his wise men the interpretation of his dream; on their being unable to give an interpretation they are condemned to death. Daniel intercedes for them and they are saved; for he not only describes the dream without having been told about it, but also gives the interpretation of it. The dream with its interpretation occurs in verses 31-45. Daniel is placed over all the wise men of Babylonia.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. xxii f.; for a different view see Rowley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 266 f.

iii. 1-30. The narrative of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego in the fiery furnace.

iv. 1-37 (Aram. iii. 31-iv. 34). Nebuchadrezzar has another dream; Daniel again interprets it, and prophesies that the king, because of his pride, will be punished by the loss of his reason for a certain period; this comes to pass (verses 34-37 (Aram. 31-34); see the Septuagint). The king repents and his reason comes back to him; his kingdom is restored.

v. 1-30. Belshazzar's feast; the handwriting on the wall which Daniel alone can interpret. The death of Belshazzar.

vi. v. 31-vi. 28 (Aram. vi. 1-27). Daniel in the lion's den. He is rescued and set over the whole kingdom.

vii. 1-28. The vision of the four beasts, interpreted by an angel.

viii. 1-27. The vision of the ram and the he-goat, interpreted by Gabriel.

ix. 1-3, 21-27 (verses 4-20 are an interpolation). Daniel seeks an interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the seventy years' desolation of Jerusalem; the interpretation is given by Gabriel.

x. 1-xi. 1. A vision concerning the latter times.

xi. 2-xii. 4. An historical retrospect, followed by a prophecy of the latter times.

xii. 5-10. A vision of two angels. Verses 11-13 are a later addition.

V. SOURCES

As we have seen, the first half of our book contains narratives in which the leading part is played by Daniel, though others, namely the companions of Daniel and various kings, also have important rôles. The question arises as to whether the writer of our book composed these stories himself, or whether he made use of some earlier sources. The question is not superfluous, for one or two considerations suggest the possibility, perhaps the probability, of earlier material having been utilized.

Thus, the figure of Daniel was borrowed; that legends

of this mythical hero of old were current is certain, for his righteousness and wisdom are spoken of in Ezek. xiv. 14, 20; xxviii. 3, as well known.¹ In the two former of these passages Daniel is mentioned together with Noah and Job; of these two later stories have been preserved; this justifies the presumption, or at any rate the possibility, that our Daniel stories were based upon earlier legends. It is also worth noting that in *Ezekiel* the mention of Daniel in conjunction with Noah and Job shows that, like them, he was a hero of primeval times, and therefore a non-Jew; but in our book he is represented as a true son of the Law. Moreover, Ezek. xiv. 18, 20 suggest that Daniel had children; but in our book that element of the legend is left aside. These things point clearly to the manipulation of earlier material.

In the second place, it must be conceded that some elements in the narratives are not appropriate, considering the conditions of the times; that they should have *originated* during a time of persecution is difficult to believe. With the exception of Belshazzar the stories end in the conversion of a Gentile ruler; this is not likely to have been the attitude of the Maccabæans towards Antiochus Epiphanes; see, e.g., ii Macc. vii. 34-36; iv. Macc. ix. 9, 31; x. 11, 21; xii. 19.

And, lastly, it is generally recognized that all the apocalyptic books make use of traditional material; so that if this is the case with the apocalyptic portions of *Daniel*, the same might well apply to the narrative portions.

Thus, while it is not possible to indicate what the sources were to which the writer of our book had access, of the fact that such were utilized there can be no reasonable doubt.²

VI. THE LANGUAGES OF THE BOOK

Chs. i-ii. 4a, viii-xii are in Hebrew, ii. 4b-vii in Aramaic;³ this fact will be found to raise some difficult problems,

¹ There is also a reference to him in the recently found Ras-Shamra texts.

² See, in general, Kuhl, *Die drei Männer im Feuer* (1930).

³ On the Aramaic of our book Baumgartner's art. in *ZATW*, 1927, pp. 81-133, will be found useful. See also the important article by H. H. Rowley, "Early Aramaic Dialects and the Book of Daniel," in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 777-805 (1933).

the attempts to solve which differ among scholars; but this whole question has been so admirably and convincingly dealt with by Charles that his conclusions are likely to be generally accepted. We shall return to the subject. A point of less importance, but one which has been used as an argument for the theory of composite authorship, is that Daniel is spoken of in the third person in chs. i-vi, while in chs. vii-xii the first person is used. This may, however, be accounted for by the difference of subject-matter in the two parts of the book; for chs. i-vi contain narratives, while chs. vii-xii describe visions. But the real difficulty arises from the fact that the change of language does not correspond with the change of subject-matter; for, as we have seen, i-ii. 4a is written in Hebrew, but ii. 4b-vii. 28 is in Aramaic; if the change of subject-matter corresponded with the change of language, the whole of chs. i-vi ought to be written in Hebrew, and chs. vii-xii in Aramaic, or *vice versa*.

The difficulty is dealt with in great detail by Charles; we can offer here but a summary of his conclusions; the book was originally written entirely in Aramaic; this was necessary because the author wrote for the purpose of encouraging his people to be loyal to their ancestral religion at a time when they were suffering grievous persecution; Aramaic was the vernacular; Hebrew would not have been understood by the bulk of the people. An important point in support of this contention is that the Aramaic sections do not give the impression of being translations; this cannot be claimed for the Hebrew sections. Chs. ii. 4b-vii are therefore in the original language of the book; the reason why vii was not translated into Hebrew was because at this point the Chaldeans begin to speak: "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king in Aramaic," then begins the Aramaic: "O king, live for ever . . .," *i.e.* the writer lets them speak in what he thinks was their language. The evidence given by Charles shows that ii. 4b-vi and vii come from one and the same writer. Since ch. vii records the first vision, and is written in Aramaic, "there is no rational or conceivable ground for the author's forsaking

the vernacular language of his day, and having recourse to Hebrew for his remaining three visions in viii-xii, seeing that his visions, no less than his narratives, were addressed, not to a small educated minority who understood Hebrew, but to the uneducated many who understood only Aramaic." The question then arises: since ii. 4b-vii have been left in their original language, how comes it that i-ii. 4a and viii-xii are in Hebrew? In reply to this Charles writes: "The original of the entire book of *Daniel* was of course in the Aramaic vernacular, but, if the book was to be embodied in the Canon and made of lasting significance, this end could not be achieved otherwise than by commending itself in a Hebrew form, at all events in its opening and closing chapters, to the scholars of the day, who could admit its canonical authority, as they did that of the bilingual *Ezra*, though they refused to include it in the Canon of the prophets."¹

There may have been a further reason for the apocalyptic portions viii to xii being in Hebrew; for since these are of a prophetic nature it would have been thought more appropriate to have them in the language of the earlier prophetic literature.

A matter of less importance is whether the author himself translated the portions in question into Hebrew, or whether this was done by someone else. Here again opinions

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. xlix; so, too, Marti, in Kautzsch-Bertholet, *Die Heilige Schrift des A.T.*, ii. 460. Rowley (*ZATW*, 1932, pp. 256-268) disagrees with Charles; but his own theory, though very ingenious, strikes us as unnecessarily complicated; he holds that "Daniel was a legendary hero, concerning whom popular stories were current in the post-exilic period, and that a Maccabean author worked up some of these stories and issued them separately in Aramaic for the encouragement of his fellows. Chs. ii-vi were thus issued. Later, ch. vii was similarly issued in Aramaic. The author had now passed over, however, to a different type of literature, which was less suitable for popular circulation. This he recognized by writing subsequent eschatological visions of this type in Hebrew. When he collected his stories and visions into a book, he wanted a fuller and more formal introduction than he had used for the first story when it was issued separately. He therefore rewrote the first part of the story of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and since this was now intended as an introduction to the whole book, it was written in Hebrew, the language of the more recent sections. The point of transition was thus determined by the amount of the earlier material he desired to rewrite." Other scholars maintain that the whole book was written in Hebrew originally; yet others that the first part was written in Aramaic and the second in Hebrew, and that there was a translation of the beginning of each half into the other language.

differ. Charles, in a searching examination of the linguistic character of the Hebrew portions, comes to the conclusion that the work of three translators is to be discerned (i-ii. 4a; viii-x, xii; and xi).¹ Rowley, in an acute criticism of Charles' contention, says: "The differences Charles finds are quite insufficient to distinguish between the style of the sections, and, moreover, if they were valid, they would each divide the Hebrew sections differently. They do not support one another, and certainly they give us no evidence whatever of three separate documents, each marked by a distinctive group of literary usages."² This is somewhat over-stated; but it must be confessed that it is a question very difficult to decide; fortunately it is not one of great moment.

VII. THE TEACHING OF THE BOOK

As is generally recognized, the apocalyptic literature presents us with two greatly differing eschatological points of view. Our book is in some notable particulars an illustration of this. For example, while, on the one hand, the kingdom is for Israel alone, and Israel is to be supreme over all the nations of the world, there are, on the other, passages which certainly suggest that the kingdom is something more than a worldly one: "And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever"; similarly in vii. 18-27; the kingdom is clearly an earthly one in so far as it will overcome all other kingdoms; but since it is an everlasting kingdom it must be something more than a purely earthly one. The incongruity is quite comprehensible when it is remembered that throughout this literature two forms of eschatological teaching find a place.

The teaching concerning the future life shows developments of great interest; xii. 2, 3 is one of the very few

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. xlvii ff.

² *ZATW*, 1932, p. 264.

passages in the Old Testament which express belief in the resurrection: "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth¹ shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. . . ." Of the "many" that sleep in the dust of the earth, *i.e.* She'ol, some who are raised are righteous and some are wicked; but presumably the great mass of the departed continue their sleep in She'ol; nothing is said of these; nor is anything said of the places wherein the risen righteous and the risen wicked, respectively, remain for ever. So far as one can gather, it would seem that, according to our author, She'ol is an intermediate state for both the righteous and some of the wicked, but an eternal abode for the great mass of departed spirits, whether good or bad. It must, therefore, be acknowledged that our author does not present his ideas on this momentous subject very clearly; his belief in the fact of resurrection is definite; but otherwise what he says raises questions to which he gives no answer.

The main fact in his conception of God is the emphasis he lays upon the divine transcendence. The Almighty is spoken of as "the God of Heaven" (ii. 18, 19, 44), "the heavens" (iv. 26), "the great and dreadful God" (ix. 4), and see also vii. 9, 10. This is also brought out by the place assigned to angels as the intermediaries between God and men; angels interpret visions to Daniel (vii. 16, viii. 16, ix. 22), and they act as guardians of nations (x. 13, 20, 21, xii. 1).

Like all the apocalyptists our author observes the precepts of the Law; thus in the matter of clean and unclean foods (i. 8-16), doing the works of the Law (iv. 27, Hebr. 24), keeping the hours of prayer (vi. 10, Hebr. 11).

VIII. THE VERSIONS

By far the most important are the Greek versions; of these there are two: the Septuagint and Theodotion's revision of the Septuagint. The former exists, however, in only one late and very corrupt MS.; for, whatever the

¹ The Hebrew has: "in the land of dust."

reason may have been, it was Theodotion's version and not the Septuagint which was mainly used by the early Church Fathers. But, further, a matter of special interest about Theodotion's version is that it represents a version which was in existence long before his time; this is proved by the fact that in large numbers of quotations from *Daniel* occurring in the writings of Church Fathers before his time, the characteristics of his version already appear. Thus, there was a "pre-Theodotion" version. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that Theodotion had at his disposal a MS. which presented a type of text—so far as *Daniel* was concerned—superior to that of the ordinary Septuagint text; this would, at any rate, account for the preference for his version, rather than for that of the Septuagint, on the part of early Church writers. However this may be, Theodotion's version as well as that of the Septuagint are of great value for the study of our book, for in the frequently corrupt form of the original these versions supply what in all probability represents the true text; this help is greatly needed, for, as Charles points out, the Massoretic text is in hundreds of passages "wholly untrustworthy as to the form of the original and occasionally as to its subject-matter."¹

In both the Greek versions there are large additions not found in the Massoretic text; thus, the *Story of Susanna* precedes Dan. i. 1; after Dan. iii. 23 follows the *Prayer of Azarias* and details about the heating of the furnace and the preservation of the three men in the furnace; and after Dan. xii. 13 we have the story of *Bel and the Dragon*.² In the early Church these additions were regarded as belonging to the canonical Scriptures. In the Septuagint text various further additions of minor importance appear.

Of less value, but not to be ignored, are the Peshitta and the Vulgate.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. lix.

² On these additions see Kuhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-104.

THE BOOK OF HOSEA

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

THE book of *Hosea* always occupies the first place among the *Twelve Prophets*, and its general position varies with that of the latter. Thus, in the Hebrew Bible it comes immediately after *Ezekiel*; in the Septuagint it is the first of the Prophets; in the Peshitta it stands next to *Isaiah*, and in the Vulgate, followed by modern versions, it is placed next to *Daniel*. It owes this position mainly to the fact that it is the longest of the *Twelve*, but partly, possibly, to the theory that Hosea was the first of them in chronological order.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The activity of Hosea falls within the lifetime of Isaiah, and the background of external politics is the same for both prophets. In northern Israel the time was one of utter confusion. The great age of the successful Jeroboam ii was over, and Israelite prosperity was rapidly fading. Jeroboam's son, Zechariah, was assassinated by Shallum, Shallum by Menahem. This king won a temporary security by submission to Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C., but his son, Pekahiah, was murdered by Pekah in the interests of the anti-Assyrian party. Pekah perished in a vain attempt to stem the tide of Assyrian advance, and the greater part of his kingdom was organized into Assyrian provinces. His successor, Hoshea, revolted after a nine-years reign, and was put to death by Shalmaneser v, who succeeded Tiglath-pileser in 727 B.C. Samaria was then besieged, and fell after a three-years' resistance (721 B.C.), and the kingdom of Israel came to an end.

III. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The book seems to contain two collections of oracular matter, one of which is a good deal longer than the other. The first is introduced by a biographical passage (type B),¹ and the second by a chapter in which the prophet describes his own experiences (type C).²

The first section comprises chs. i-ii. In i. 2-9 we have an account of Hosea's domestic history from the pen of a third party, who describes his marriage and the birth of his three children. To this has been appended a short oracle, in i. 10-ii. 1 (Hebr. ii. 1-3), describing the happy future that awaits Israel. It may be a good deal later than Hosea, for the names in ii. 1 suggest that it was written for its present position, and the substance points rather to a period after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

The little collection which follows includes verses 2-5 (Hebr. 4-7) (a mutilated oracle), 6-7 (Hebr. 8-9), 8-13 (Hebr. 10-15). All these are messages of condemnation and of doom, but in the rest of the collection we have promises of forgiveness and restoration. These are contained in the following verses (the numeration in the Hebrew Bible is two higher than the R.V. throughout this chapter): verses 14-15, 16-17 (fragmentary and, probably, worked over before its inclusion in the collection), 18-20, 21-23 (apparently the end only of a rather longer passage). Some scholars reject these and other passages on the ground that Hosea could not have held out any hope for his people. This, however, seems to be an assumption which it is difficult to justify, and there is nothing else in these pieces (except perhaps in verse 23) which suggests the work of a later prophet. We may note the fact that the collector has placed these happier utterances at the end of his collection in accordance with a principle which is abundantly illustrated in the Old Testament.

The second, and much longer, collection, is introduced by the prophet's own account of his marriage. The relation between chs. i and iii will be referred to later. Again we

¹ See above, p. 228 f.

² See above, pp. 229 ff.

note a happy expansion at the end. This (verse 5) is probably the work of a Judæan scribe some time between the fall of Samaria (721 B.C.) and that of Jerusalem (586 B.C.).

Ch. iv contains six or seven pieces, or fragments. Verses 1-3 (probably the latter part of verse 3 is a later expansion) are followed by 4-6 (of which the opening is corrupt and unintelligible), 7-11 (mutilated at the beginning), 12-13a, 13b-14 (mutilated at the end), 15 (a later addition by a Judæan scribe, apparently a good deal later than Amos), 16-19 (where the text is extraordinarily corrupt, though not necessarily hopeless). Ch. v. 1-7 gives us one of the longest continuous sections in the book, and is followed by two oracles in v. 8-9 and 10-14. Chs. v. 15-vi. 3 suggests an extract from some current Liturgy, and there is no need to reject it as some scholars do. Ch. vi. 4-6 seems to be closely attached to the foregoing.¹ Ch. vi. 7-11 forms an independent whole. Ch. vii appears to contain the following pieces: verses 1-2, 3-6, 7-10 (placed after the preceding owing to the mention of the "oven"), 11-12, 13-14 (probably mutilated at the end), 15-16. In ch. viii we have verses 1-3 (mutilated at the beginning), 4a (an isolated fragment), 4b-7, 8-10, 11-13. Ch. ix contains seven oracles or oracle fragments: verses 1-4, 5-6, 7-9, 10, 11a (the last two are mere fragments), 11b-15 (of this the opening words have not been preserved), 16-17. In ch. x we have verses 1-2, 3-4 (regarded as a late insertion by some scholars, though it must belong to the age of the monarchy), 5 (an isolated fragment), 6-8, 9-10 (the beginning only of this oracle has been preserved), 11-13a, 13b-14 (here we seem to have the beginning and end of two separate oracles, which have been telescoped in our text), to which a prose note has been appended, at some time before the end of the Judæan monarchy, in verse 15.

It is not impossible that a fresh collection opens with ch. xi. The main theme of the first two collections was the apostasy of Israel, the "wife" of Yahweh; here the people become His sons. This is especially brought out in the

¹ On v. 1-vi. 6 see Budde in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Soc.*, vol. xiv (1934).

first piece, xi. 1-3. This is followed by verses 4-6, with an addition in verse 7 taken from some other utterance of Hosea's, 8-11, 12-xii. 1 (in the MT xi. 12 is counted as the first verse of xii), 2-6, 7-10 (of which the beginning and end have not been preserved), 11-13 (again incomplete at both ends), 14 (an isolated fragment). Ch. xiii is commonly divided into two parts at the end of verse 11, but metrical and other considerations make the following analysis more probable: verses 1-3, 4-6, 7-8, 9-11, 12-14c, 14d-16 (something has been lost at the beginning). Ch. xiv has aroused more discussion than any previous oracular section. Many editors would deny Hosea's authorship, mainly on three grounds: (*a*) it offers hope for the future, which Hosea would not have done; (*b*) a compiler always tried to find a hopeful passage to place at the end of his work; (*c*) there are words and phrases which do not occur elsewhere till long after the time of Hosea. The first two are of little importance, since we must allow a prophet to change his tone with altered circumstances, and the fact that a compiler found a hopeful section for the conclusion of the book does not prove that this section was not the work of Hosea. The later words and phrases are not numerous, though verse 7 seems to be dependent on Pss. xxxvi. 9 and lxxv. 11, 12. We should, however, note that the passage has a distinctly liturgical form, and may have been cited by Hosea and modified by a later age. In verses 1-3 the officiating priests appeal to Israel to repent, and in verses 4-7 the people respond. Verses 8 and 9 are isolated sentences which a compiler—or even a scribe—has appended to the whole.

IV. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

It is clear that the work of Hosea is to be placed during the last generation of the existence of the northern kingdom. The earliest suggestion of a definite date is to be found in viii. 9, which may well refer to the tribute paid by Menahem to Tiglath-pileser in 738 B.C. There is no direct reference to the fall of Samaria, though it is clear that the prophet often felt the calamity close at hand. If, however, we

accept some of the more hopeful passages as original, we may conjecture that they were uttered after 721 B.C., when the kingdom, so obnoxious to Hosea, had vanished, and there might be hope of a spiritual new beginning.

There are two classes of passages which have awakened the suspicions of commentators. One is that already mentioned, in which the prophet looks forward to the possibility of a brighter future. These occur usually at the end of sections or of collections, and may be the additions of a later age. This, however, does not necessarily follow, and the evidence does not justify us in dogmatically asserting that they are not the work of Hosea himself. The other class is that in which Judah is mentioned. Here we must face the possibility, even the probability, that southern scribes have deliberately modified the text to make it fit their own community, or have inserted such sentences as xi. 12b, which contrast the fidelity of Judah with the apostasy of the north. Apart from these two classes of passage, there is little, if anything, which modern scholars would deny to Hosea.

The date of the compilations seems quite uncertain. We have occasional hints of an exilic, or of a post-exilic, date, especially in the Judah passages, and that suggests that the oracles were not formally collected till long after the time of Hosea. The corrupt state of the text, and the mutilated condition of a great many of the separate pieces, are also indications of a fairly long period between the utterance of the words and their inclusion in collections. Jeremiah seems to have been acquainted with the work of Hosea, but it does not follow that the book, or even the individual collections therein, had reached the form in which we have them now. Probably we shall not be far wrong if we assign the actual compilations to the exilic or post-exilic age.

V. HOSEA'S DOMESTIC LIFE

The problem of Hosea's marriage has aroused a great deal of discussion in recent years, and numerous attempts have been made to reconstruct the actual course of events.

The primary sources are chs. i and iii; and some of the oracles, especially those contained in ch. ii, have been used to supplement the prose narratives. We may briefly indicate several of the views that have been held:

(a) It has been maintained that the whole story is symbolical, and that it does not represent historical fact. This is rendered improbable by certain details, particularly the name Gomer.

(b) The narrative in ch. i has been held to be historical, and ch. iii allegorical—a position for which there seems to be no good ground, unless we are to assume that all C passages in the prophets are due to later Midrash.

(c) The two have been combined, and it has been held that, after the birth of the third child, Gomer left her husband and fell ultimately into slavery, whence she was purchased by Hosea and taken again to his home. This has been popularized by the brilliant exegesis of Sir George Adam Smith, and is the form of the story best known to English readers. On the other hand, it has been maintained, especially by those who have taken into account the difference in type between the two chapters, that ch. iii is a more intimate account of the actual marriage, emanating from the prophet himself.

A further question is as to whether Gomer was innocent at the time of her marriage, and whether, if she were not, Hosea was aware of her character. The language of i. 2 and iii. 1 seems definitely against the former view, though it might be explained as prophetic. A literal acceptance is extremely difficult, especially in view of Hosea's obvious repugnance to the sexual immoralities prevalent in Israel. This might be met psychologically by the suggestion (probably sound) that Hosea suffered from sex-obsession, which drove him into the thing of which he had the greatest horror. It might be defended also on religious grounds by the supposition that Gomer was originally a temple prostitute. This would explain Hosea's feeling that his marriage was a religious act, and would offer a reason for several of the details preserved in ch. iii.

Even the conjugal infidelity of Gomer is not to be deduced

with certainty from the narratives of chs. i and iii. The names of the two younger children have been interpreted as implying this, and a further argument is to be seen in the use of the word "adulterers" in iii. 1. But the word used here may have a wider significance than that implied in the English rendering, and the names Lo-ruhamah and Lo-ammi, like those of Isaiah's children, may be signs merely for Israel, with no reference to their father's home-life.

But even if this be true, we have no right to assume that these two fragments of narrative give us the whole of Hosea's story. On the contrary, there was much in his domestic experience which profoundly influenced his thought and feeling, though there is no direct account of it. Ch. xi surely implies that Hosea suffered, not only from a faithless wife, but from ungrateful and rebellious children. So also, even though Gomer's adultery may not be actually mentioned in the prose narratives, it is difficult to understand Hosea's message and teaching except on the theory that she was false to him, and fell back into her old ways. We should beware of reading too much into the connexion between chs. i and ii, but we are probably justified in assuming that the oracles contained in ch. ii—and elsewhere—are based on bitter experiences which befell Hosea after the events described in chs. i and iii.

VI. THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

Modern psychological science has helped us to see that we have in prophecy the emergence of elements from the subconscious, facilitated—indeed made possible—by the peculiar psychic state which made the prophet what he was.¹ In other words, what the prophet said and did was the expression of that real basic personality of which he himself was often unaware. Like many another great soul in the history of man's religion (we may, not unfairly, cite Tertullian and Augustine as examples), Hosea was, at any rate in his youth, subject to what recent psychology would call a "sex-complex." Such natures as his have a

¹ Cp. especially Haeussermann, *Wortempfängnis und Symbol* (1933).

peculiar intensity and passion which run through all their life, and often, when duly "sublimated," give them an extraordinary power and impressiveness. In Hosea we have the struggle between the subconscious obsession and the purity of conscious thought resulting in his involving himself in the thing he most hated. Seen from another point of view (that which the prophet himself may have more nearly realized) he seems to have felt that the supreme act of surrender to the will of God was to take the step most horrible to him, and to bind his life to that of a woman belonging to the class he most loathed. More simply still, he found himself swept away by an overwhelming love for a woman who belonged to a class against which his better nature revolted, and, in his love, he found a reflection of that which Yahweh bore to Israel, faithless and disgusting as she was. It was an awful thing to Hosea that he should so love Gomer, but Yahweh was immeasurably nobler and purer than he, and Israel stood on a lower moral level than the erring woman to whom he gave himself. So, in the agony of his own spirit, and in the deathless love he knew, he found an image of the heart of God, broken by the constant rejection of His love, and by the endlessly repeated apostasies of His beloved people.

That is, in fact, all that we know of Hosea, and all that we need to know. Of his life outside his own home we have no record whatever. We are told the circumstances in which his various oracles were delivered, but we hear nothing of the reception accorded to them. We know that he was unheeded by his people, but that we learn, not from the book of Hosea, but from the fact that Israel went her way to ruin.

In later life, as it seems, the loving passion which consumed the prophet was directed as much to his children as to his wife. Yet they too proved a crushing disappointment, and once more he realized the meaning of divine sorrow over human sin.

Hosea's poetic style is characteristic of the man. In spite of the mutilation which so many oracles have suffered and the grave corruptions of the text, we can recognize in his

verse the staccato quality of utterances forced from the man by intense emotion. This often makes the meaning obscure, but, in *Hosea*, the literal sense is always subordinate to the feeling which the poetry expresses. His metaphors are taken less from life and Nature than those of Amos and Jeremiah, and his language is much more that of a townsman than is theirs.

Hosea was not oblivious to the evils which called forth the denunciations of his predecessor, Amos, and of his contemporaries, Isaiah and Micah. He was aware of social injustice and has much to say of political folly. To him, as to Isaiah, close association with foreign peoples involved apostasy, and it was the religious shortcomings of the nation on which his attention was fixed. The cultus was evil—sheer Baalism—and he was the first, as far as we know, expressly to condemn the bull-worship at Bethel.

But, above all things, Hosea insisted on Yahweh's demand for *Love*. For its lower manifestations he uses the common term '*ahabbah*', but his favourite word expresses a higher "sublimated" type—*Hesedh*.¹ Here we have a term which defies translation. It is love always in the light of some definite relationship—husband—wife, parent—child, God—worshipper. It has, therefore, an element of *duty* in it, and from this side is better represented by the Latin *pietas* than by any other rendering. But it is more than *pietas*, for it has a far deeper emotional content; it may be the love of the higher to the lower, or of equals to one another, as well as that of the inferior to the superior. It implies, too, always a full recognition of the nature, rights, and demands of personality, and, in one of its aspects, may be described as consecration to personality. It goes deeper than the justice which Amos required; it is a fundamental quality of soul which serves as a spring and motive for all right action in personal relationships.

For Israel Hosea saw little hope. There are passages (of disputed authorship, as we have seen) which suggest the possibility of repentance and restoration. But the former was an indispensable condition of the latter, and, if it were

¹ Rendered "goodness" in vi. 4; "mercy" in vi. 6 and elsewhere.

lacking, the people's ruin was inevitable. It was better that the nation should cease to be than that it should continue as it was. Yahweh loved Israel with a passion so great that, while He would restore her if she would allow Him, He would yet, if need be, destroy her utterly.

VII. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

There is no book in the Old Testament which has suffered more from textual corruption than *Hosea*. There is hardly a single verse of which the reader can be sure that it has not been more or less altered, generally by accident. A large part of the text, as it stands, is meaningless, though good sense can often be obtained by very slight changes. Illustrations may be seen in iv. 4, 5, vii. 5, ix. 6, 7, 8, x. 10, xi. 4, 7. Sometimes additions have been made by later scribes, e.g. in ii. 4, ix. 9, xiii. 6, xiv. 4, 5. The text before the Septuagint translators was hardly better, though a superior reading is sometimes suggested, as in ii. 20, v. 15, viii. 10, x. 10, and the worst corruptions must have taken place before the divergence of the two lines of tradition.

THE BOOK OF JOEL

I. CONTENTS

A BRIEF survey of the contents will show wherein the problem of this book lies. It contains two elements—narrative and apocalyptic.

1. *The narrative portion* is as follows:—The book opens with a description of a plague of locusts from the ravages of which the land has suffered (i. 2-5). So terrible has been the scourge that the swarms are compared with an invading army (i. 6, 7). The prophet calls to lamentation; let the priests mourn because the offerings cannot be brought to the sanctuary; corn, wine, and oil, which formed an important part of the offerings, are unprocurable; let the vine-dressers and agriculturists mourn because everything has been devastated; all the inhabitants are called upon to fast and to cry unto Yahweh (i. 8-14). The prophet points to the ravages before the very eyes of the people, and leads them in a plaint to the Almighty (i. 16-20). Let them now at once turn to Him in fasting and weeping and mourning, for He is very merciful; it may be that He will hear their cry (ii. 12-14). So the prophet commands a fast and a solemn assembly (ii. 15-17). As a result the answer comes from Yahweh that He is about to give them once more all that they need; the enemy, *i.e.* the locust swarms, are being driven away, the land may rejoice, the beasts of the field need fear no more; there shall again be plenty in the land, let the people praise God, for He is in their midst (ii. 18-27).

That is the narrative; it is not quite clear whether there was only the promise of returning fertility in which the people implicitly trusted, or whether this had actually taken place—in which case the lapse of some time must be assumed between ii. 17 and 18-27—but otherwise the narrative in

itself is perfectly straightforward. It covers i. 2-20 (excepting verse 15), ii. 12-27 (excepting verse 20).

2. *The apocalyptic portion* begins abruptly at i. 15, which breaks the course of the narrative portion: "Alas for the day! for the day of Yahweh is at hand, and as destruction from Shaddai shall it come." It continues in ii. 1 ff.; here the locust swarm is allegorized; the day of darkness and gloom is at hand; a description of the advent of a mighty people follows; they will overrun the land and leave it waste; all men will be in fear of them, they will come in serried ranks and overwhelm the city; the earth will quake before them; the heavens will tremble, sun and moon and stars will be darkened; who can abide the day of Yahweh? (ii. 1-11). After these terrors have passed the Almighty will pour His spirit on all flesh. Then there will be further wonders in the heavens and on earth, the sun and moon turned to darkness. But the remnant of the people, *i.e.* those who call on the name of Yahweh, will be delivered from all the terrors (ii. 28-31 [Hebr. iii. 1-5]). The dispersed of Israel will be brought back, but all the nations shall be gathered together in the valley of Jehoshaphat to be punished for the evil which the people of God have suffered at their hands; Tyre, Zidon, Philistia, and the Greeks are specially mentioned (iii. 1-8 [Hebr. iv. 1-8]). The nations are again bidden to gather themselves in the valley of Jehoshaphat, when the sun, moon and stars will be darkened, and Yahweh will utter His voice from Jerusalem, and the children of Israel will no more be troubled; but fruitfulness will be poured out upon the land, the people will dwell in prosperity, for Yahweh will dwell in Zion (iii. 9-21 [Hebr. iv. 9-21]).

The apocalyptic portion is thus contained in i. 15, ii. 1-11, 20, ii. 28-32 (Hebr. iii. 1-5), iii. 1-21 (Hebr. iv. 1-21). Like the narrative portion it is written in poetry.¹

¹ Duhm (*ZATW* 1911, pp. 184-188), however, maintains that it is in prose; it must be allowed that the metre is not always clear, and even where the poetical form is evident it is not always uniform, *e.g.* iv (E.V. iii) 9-14 is irregular while iv (E.V. iii) 15-17 is 3:3.

II. AUTHORSHIP

The question now arises as to whether these two portions are to be assigned to the same author or not. If the narrative portion be understood in a literal sense, which is the most obvious and natural, then it is a little difficult to understand how an author can intermix in one and the same writing such very different themes as a locust visitation and an apocalyptic prophecy regarding the end of the present world. Placing oneself in the position of the writer of the narrative portion one cannot fail to notice how terrible to him was this visitation, with its awful ravages, and with the consequent danger of famine. Not less intense was the feeling with which he exhorted priests and people to fast and mourn and pray, in order that by the mercy of God better times might come. Clearly his thoughts were concentrated on these things, his whole attention absorbed by the present distress and the means to be adopted for ensuring a happier future. Under such conditions it seems extremely unlikely that he could at the same time be thinking about the end of the world and the various apocalyptic elements with which the later part of the book is full. Later thought might well suggest an allegorical interpretation of the visitation in the sense of its being a symbolical heralding of the Day of Yahweh; so that it could with justice be contended that the apocalyptic portion was a subsequent addition by the author to his earlier writing, setting forth his reflections as he looked back upon the dire episode. In itself this would be a perfectly acceptable solution of the problem. On the other hand, an equally satisfactory explanation would be to suppose that the narrative portion was written by a prophet, and that subsequently it was utilized by an apocalypticist for the purpose of driving home his teaching concerning the coming Day of Yahweh. That the latter inserted some minor verbal additions in the narrative, such as i. 15, would be a natural process.

But why, it may be asked, is the idea of dual authorship suggested at all, especially when the great mass of Old

Testament scholars believe in single authorship?¹ The reason is that there are indications in the two portions of the book, respectively, which point to difference of date. To this subject we turn next.

III. DATE

It was, no doubt, due to the position of our book in the Canon, viz. between those of *Hosea* and *Amos*,² which induced the belief, held for long, that it belonged to pre-exilic times. But the place of a book in the Canon is no indication of its date, as is clear, *e.g.*, from the positions of *Ruth*, *Daniel* and *Jonah*.

1. The *narrative* portion must be regarded as post-exilic for the following reasons; not that these are all decisive, but taken in the aggregate they offer a convincing case:

In the titles of almost all the pre-exilic prophetic books the name or names of the kings during whose reigns the prophet worked is given. That this is not the case with our book does not necessarily point to a post-exilic date, for the same is the case with *Nahum* and *Habakkuk*; but it must be noted as not being in accordance with the general usage of pre-exilic prophetic books.

More convincing is the fact that not only is there no reference to the northern kingdom, but "Israel" is used as synonymous with Judah; this usage occurs only after the time of Ezra. In ii. 27 it is said: "And ye shall know that I am in the midst of Israel"; but the people addressed are those of Judah: "Be glad then, ye children of Zion" (ii. 23). In iv. 2, again, we read of "my heritage Israel," but the reference, as verse 1 shows, is to "Judah and Jerusalem." And, once more, in iv. 16 Israel is mentioned, but it is from Zion, from Jerusalem, that Yahweh will make His voice heard; clearly, therefore, by "Israel" is

¹ Dual authorship is held by Duhm (*ZATW* for 1911, pp. 184-188) and Marti, in Kautzsch-Bertholet's *Die Heilige Schrift des A.T.*, ii. p. 23 (1923); but they reckon ii. 1-11 as belonging to the narrative portion, though with apocalyptic insertions. We had reached our conclusion as to dual authorship independently.

² In the Septuagint it occupies the fourth place, after *Micah*.

meant the people of Judah. This points unmistakably to post-exilic times.

Again, Jerusalem is the only sanctuary; not that this necessarily points to post-exilic times, for it could be argued that inasmuch as the prophet belongs to the south there would be no need to mention the northern sanctuary. But what is of real significance is that no reference whatsoever is made to the high-places (*bamoth*); this must mean that either this narrative portion was written some considerable time before Amos, or else after the Exile. But as there is not a single argument which will bear examination for such an early date, the only alternative is to place the narrative portion in the post-exilic period. It should also be noted that i. 14, ii. 15, 16 give the impression that the people are all living in close proximity to Jerusalem, which points to post-exilic conditions.

But there are yet stronger arguments in favour of this date. The priests are the leaders of the people; a king is never spoken of. Interest is centred on the worship of the Temple; the threefold reference to the meal offering (*minḥah*) and the drink offering (*nesek*) in i. 9, 13, ii. 14 is quite conclusive as to date, for these refer to the daily morning and evening offering to which the abbreviated name *Tamid* ("continual" offering) is given; in pre-exilic times the burnt offering was offered in the morning, the meal offering in the evening (see ii Kgs. xvi. 15); but in the Priestly Code of post-exilic times these were combined and were offered together both morning and evening;¹ to these was then added the drink offering (Exod. xxix. 38-42, Num. xxviii. 3-8); so that the mention in *Joel* of the drink offering in connexion with the other offering points indubitably to post-exilic times.

The importance of offerings shown in this narrative portion is very different from the attitude of the pre-exilic prophets, to whom the sacrifices were of small account, if

¹ In Ezek. xlvi. 13-15 the morning burnt offering and meal offering are already combined, but the drink offering has not yet come into vogue; no evening offering is mentioned. In the *Joel* passages burnt offering (*olah*) is not used, but it was probably included in the *minḥah*, which was a general term for sacrifices (see Gen. iv. 3-5; Num. xvi. 15; i Sam. ii. 17, xxvi. 19).

not unnecessary, at any rate when offered in the wrong spirit. And striking, too, in contrast to the earlier prophets, is the entire absence of ethical teaching. The pre-exilic prophets would assuredly have pointed to the locust visitation as a mark of divine wrath for the sins of the people (see, *e.g.*, Am. iv. 9); there would have been a call to forsake sin and refrain from evil; but here the prophet exhorts to fasting, weeping and mourning; only once does the phrase "turn unto Yahweh your God" occur (ii. 13).

And, finally, as Marti has pointed out, the easy and smooth style of the writer of this book, so far from being a sign of early date, is in fact a proof of the contrary; smoothness of style and simplicity of expression are qualities which the earlier prophets do not possess, and it is certain that from about 400 B.C. onwards the art of writing good and smooth Hebrew was cultivated.¹ It has also been shown by Holzinger that our book contains various words and expressions which belong to late Hebrew style.²

These considerations make it certain that the narrative portion of our book belongs to the post-exilic period. The marked influence of the Priestly Code points to a period after the time of Ezra; so that we may with some confidence assign this part of the book to about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

2. Turning now to the *apocalyptic* portion, there are some interesting indirect indications of date. In iii. 1 (Hebr. iv. 1) it is said: "For, behold, in those days, and in that time, when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem . . ."; here the words "when I will bring again the captivity" do not represent the meaning of the original; in an exhaustive study of the Hebrew phrase (*shūb shēbūth*) Dietrich³ has shown that this is a technical term which, in its original sense, occurs only in eschatological passages, and means "to bring back as of old" or "re-establish as in primeval times," *i.e.* it expresses the hope of the return of the Golden Age at the end of the present world-order.

¹ *Das Dodekapropheten*, p. 113 (1904).

² In *ZATW* ix. pp. 89 ff.

³ שְׁבוּת *Die endzeitliche Wiederherstellung bei den Propheten* (1925).

This is borne out by the context in which the term stands in *Joel*; and this context contains all the outstanding traits of the developed form of the eschatological drama presented in the apocalyptic literature of the last two centuries B.C., viz. the salvation of Jerusalem; the judgement on the nations; followed by the time of general well-being, fruitfulness of the land, etc.; the permanent abode of Yahweh on Zion—in a word, the Messianic Age. In another part of the eschatological portion of our book (ii. 11, 12), which is repeated in iii. 15, 16, the usual signs in the heavens and the shaking of the earth are also mentioned. While not an absolute proof, the fact that this portion of the book is so closely similar in content to the central eschatological traits contained in the apocalyptic literature makes it highly probable that it belongs approximately to 200 B.C., or slightly later.

Further, as will be seen in the chapter dealing with Zech. ix-xiv, this portion of *Zechariah* was written after 200 B.C. The close affinities between Joel iii and Zech. xiv, therefore, make it highly probable that a similar date is to be assigned to each. The identity of thought between these two books is so striking that it is worth while placing them in parallel columns:

Joel iii.

2. I will gather all nations and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat.
11. . . . thither cause thy mighty ones to come down, O Yahweh.
17. So shall ye know that I am Yahweh your God, dwelling in Zion my holy mountain.
18. . . . and there shall no strangers pass through her any more.
18. . . . and a fountain shall come forth of the house of Yahweh.

Zech. xiv.

2. And I will gather all nations against Jerusalem to battle.
5. . . . and Yahweh my God shall come, and all the holy ones with thee.
9. And Yahweh shall be king over all the earth (*i.e.* in Jerusalem, see verses 3, 4).
21. . . . and in that day there shall be no more a trafficker in the house of Yahweh of hosts.
8. and it shall come to pass in that day that living waters shall go out of Jerusalem.

A few other points may be noted. In Joel iii. 4 ff. (Hebr. iv. 4 ff.), it is said of the Phœnicians and Philistines that they had sold the Jews as slaves to "the sons of the Grecians." In Zech. ix. 13 "the sons of Greece" are also

mentioned, and there are good reasons for believing that by these the Seleucid empire is meant, for this had been part of Alexander's dominions, and the Seleucids were ardent Hellenists. It is possible that a similar meaning is to be attached to "the sons of the Grecians" in Joel iv. 6. Jewish slaves would be at least as likely to be sold to the Syrians as to the Greeks. Besides, Phoenicia and Philistia come to the front again and again during the Seleucid era (*e.g.* Zech. ix. 2, 6). And, once more, in Joel ii. 20 "the northern (army)" is spoken of; there is no mention of "army" in the original, it is "the northern one," which may well be "the king of the north" in Dan. xi. 11, *i.e.* Antiochus iii;¹ if so, the reference would be to the abortive attempt made by this king in 218-217 B.C. to wrest Coele-Syria from Ptolemy iv Philopator.

The many affinities between this part of *Joel* and the apocalyptic portion of Isa. xxiv-xxvii² would also point to a date not earlier than about 200 B.C.

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

With but few exceptions the text of *Joel* has come down to us in a very satisfactory condition. The few corruptions which occur are not serious (*e.g.* i. 7, 17, 18; ii. 11; iii. 11, Hebr. iv. 11); in these the Septuagint gives, once or twice, some help. Additions to the Hebrew text are to be discerned here and there (*e.g.* in ii. 11, 20, 26; ii. 31 [Hebr. iii. 4]), but they are of no importance. In about half-a-dozen places the Septuagint contains additions to be noted, though they are not of much importance (*e.g.* i. 5, 8; ii. 12; iii. 11); in only two or three of these does it represent a better Hebrew text (*e.g.* i. 18).

¹ Torrey thinks the reference is to Alexander the Great (*Martifestschrift*, pp. 281 ff. (1925). For extraneous influence on Jewish eschatology see Oesterley and Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, pp. 344 ff.

² See above, p. 252 ff.

THE BOOK OF AMOS

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

THE book of *Amos* stands third in the order of the "Twelve" in the Hebrew Bible. In the Septuagint, however, it is placed second, the book of *Joel* coming later. The Peshitta, Vulgate, and modern versions follow the order of the Hebrew Bible.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The reign of Jeroboam ii was the most brilliant period in the history of the northern kingdom. The old rivalry between Israel and Damascus was ending with Israelite supremacy, and even districts to the east of Jordan were recovered for Israel. Egypt was too weak to interfere, and Assyria had not yet begun the movement which ended in the conquest of Palestine.

For the internal condition, Amos himself is our chief witness. He shows us a people, rich and luxurious, but selfish and careless of human rights; the upper classes have all that they want, while the poor, especially the peasants, are sinking into misery and even slavery. Beneath the fair surface the whole country is rotten, and its doom cannot be long delayed.

III. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

All three types of material ¹ are found in the book of *Amos*, though B is confined to a short passage in ch. vii, and C to a series of visions in the last three chapters. The general construction of the book presents some peculiar features. There appear to be headings of a kind at the beginning of chs. iii and v, which may mean that there

¹ See above, pp. 224 ff.

were minor oracular collections. Other oracles are found attached to the visions in chs. vii-ix; a large proportion of these must be classed as eschatological. They have, apparently, been selected by the main compiler, or by the compiler of this last section, as being suitable to the general trend of the visions.

The first section opens with a collection of oracles against foreign nations, preceded by a general statement of the prophet's message in i. 2. The peoples denounced are: Damascus (i. 3-5), Philistia (6-8), Phœnicia (9-10), Edom (11-12), Ammon (13-15), Moab (ii. 1-3), Judah (4-5), and at the end we have Israel (6-7a). The originality of the section dealing with Philistia, Phœnicia and Edom has been challenged, but the reasons have not generally been deemed decisive. For instance, the absence of Gath in the list of Philistine cities has been held to prove that its fall in 711 B.C. had already taken place. Clearly, there may have been other reasons for the omission. On the other hand, it is generally agreed that the oracle against Judah (ii. 4-5) is a later insertion.

A more serious problem is created by the structure of the oracles. They are all couched in the same form, and in almost identical language. The chief difference lies in the crime for which each nation is condemned. It is as though a framework has been used and filled in with different names and different charges, and it may be observed that the inserted portion is in most cases metrically discordant with the framework. Is it likely that this was the work of the prophet himself? Against the inherent improbability of his adopting such a method, we have the fact that Amos does seem to use formulæ which he adapted to various needs, *e.g.* in the series of little utterances which we have in iv. 6-11. In view of all the facts, we may take it for granted that Amos did utter threats against the peoples mentioned, on the grounds given, even though we suspect that a collector or editor was responsible for the identity of the mould in which all are cast.

The list of nations concludes with Israel, introducing a further and more detailed account of her iniquities. Two

oracles are added in this section, ii. 7b-12 and 13-16, the first (in *Qinah* 3:2) dealing with ritual sins, and the second (metre 3:3) announcing punishment.

The second group of oracles opens with a rhetorical statement of the law of causation (iii. 2-8), followed by a summons to foreign powers to witness the iniquity of Samaria. Then we have a fragment in verse 11, short threats of punishment in verses 12-13 and 14-15, a denunciation of the women in iv. 1-3, and of the cultus in iv. 4-5. Then comes a group of utterances each of which describes some calamity and ends with the formula: "Yet ye have not returned unto me." The signature "saith the Lord" suggests that they were originally independent utterances, which have been connected either by the prophet himself or by an early collector. They mention famine (verse 6), drought (7-8), blight (9), pestilence (10), earthquake (11), and conclude with a final threat of the coming of Yahweh Himself to execute His final vengeance (12-13).

The next group opens with the lovely dirge over Israel, the fallen virgin (v. 2), to which, perhaps, verse 3 should be attached, eliminating its introductory clause as redactional. Verses 4-6 denounce the sanctuaries; verse 7 is an isolated fragment; 8-10 are clearly taken from a hymn to Yahweh as Lord of Nature; 11-13 contain two fragmentary denunciations of social iniquity; 14-15 are an exhortation to see Yahweh; 16-17 a threat of punishment; 18-20 a description of the Day of Yahweh; and 21-27 a condemnation of the cultus. In vi. 1-7 we have a denunciation of the ruthless luxury of the rich, and verse 8 expresses Yahweh's loathing of the pride of Israel. This will result (verses 9-11) in pestilence and earthquake—apparently two oracular fragments have been worked over in prose form, and verses 12 and 13-14 are isolated fragments.

With ch. vii begins the series of visions. These are described in prose (type C), and the first (vii. 1-3) is that of locusts, followed by a devouring fire (4-6), and Yahweh Himself standing with a plumbline against a wall (7-8a). To this last a short oracle has been appended in 8b-9. Ch. vii. 10-17 is the only instance of biographical prose

in the book, and it describes the conflict between Amos and Amaziah, the priest of Bethel. The fourth vision is that of a basket of summer fruit (viii. 1-3), which is followed by a series of short oracles; most of these are eschatological in tone—viii. 4-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-14. Ch. ix opens with the fifth vision, that of Yahweh smiting the sanctuary (at Bethel?), with which is closely linked a prediction of the complete annihilation of Israel (ix. 1-4). Next, we have another fragment from a hymn of praise (ix. 5-6), and two oracular fragments in verses 7 and 8a. Verse 8b to the end of the chapter consists of a series of hopeful oracles, all of which seem to presuppose the Exile, and one of them (ix. 11-12) certainly does so, since it speaks of the tabernacle of David as having fallen.

IV. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

Apart from one or two passages and small fragments, which seem to come from the compiler, and especially the small collection of exilic prophecy at the end of the book, there is little that we cannot ascribe to Amos himself. In v. 8 we have language which suggests that the prophet may have actually witnessed an eclipse. This can only have been that which took place in June 763 B.C., and we can thus date the prophecies of Amos with some degree of probability, shortly after that date. They were, as it appears, delivered in Bethel and Samaria, and his boldness aroused official hostility against him. He is not likely, then, to have remained long in the north, and the whole of his activity may be placed within the reign of Jeroboam ii.

V. THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

Amos, as he himself tells us, was a shepherd and a dresser of coarse figs, whose home lay in the semi-wilderness of the Tekoa region in southern Judah. He was essentially a countryman, intimate with all the creatures of the wild—the vulture, the lion, the bear, the serpent. But he had visited famous sanctuaries and great cities, and knew both

Bethel and Samaria. His home life, far away, enabled him to come to them with a certain detachment, and to see them from the outside. Thus he is free alike from the drugging influence of familiarity and from the numbing sense of inevitable complicity in the evils which he so clearly sees. His detachment gives him a certain austerity, and we miss the passionate horror of sin and the equally passionate sympathy for the doomed sinner which we find in Hosea and in Jeremiah.

Yet Amos, from his external standpoint, can fasten on the real spiritual dangers of Israel. His poetry, with its vigour and its wealth of imagery, casts a fierce light on the condition of Israel as he saw it. Beneath the fair surface of prosperity he could detect the rotting mass of spiritual corruption, and could expose it to men's eyes. He saw the falsehood of worship, the foulness of professional religion, and the commercial dishonesty of his day. More terrible and perilous to him was the total neglect of the rights and demands of human personality. Men were crushed below the human level by the reckless luxury of the rich and by the sordid corruption of justice. Ruin stared Israel in the face, but he alone could recognize its form, and he knew that, without righteousness, fair dealing, truthfulness, and a recognition of the status of humanity, the nation was doomed.

Amos had a remedy to offer the people for their social and national disease. He had inherited the traditions of the true Yahwism which traced its history back to Moses, and stood for the faith of old times, uncontaminated by Canaanite syncretism. Let men seek Yahweh—which involved establishing true justice—and they might live; otherwise they must perish. He did not, like the Nazirite and the Rechabite, condemn, and seek to escape from, the higher civilization of the agricultural and civic community, but he did insist that Israel's only safety was to be found in transfusing that more complicated social order with the true spirit of Yahweh. It was not enough merely to observe the old commandments in literal simplicity; their essence must be applied to the life the people now led.

No consideration, political or religious, must be suffered to dam the stream of righteousness. Spiritual worship, purity of life, and above all, justice, must be established and maintained as the indispensable conditions of a safe and happy future.

Religiosity was no substitute for the fulfilment of Yahweh's moral demands; unaccompanied by righteousness sacrifice was merely loathsome. Men believed in the approach of a Day of Yahweh, in which Israel should triumph over all her enemies. Amos accepted the belief, but insisted that Yahweh would come, not to vindicate indiscriminately His own nation, but to assert the claims of His moral character on all who had denied them in practice. His message was primarily a "cry for justice."

VI. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

In spite of the fragmentary character of much of this book, the text seems, on the whole, to have been well preserved, though there are some places where emendation seems necessary (*e.g.* ii. 7; iii. 12, 14; iv. 3, 5, 9; v. 6, 26; vi. 2, 10; vii. 2; viii. 3; ix. 1). The Septuagint and other versions offer no striking variations from the traditional Hebrew text, but the Septuagint is sometimes of real help (*e.g.* ii. 16; iii. 5; iv. 7; v. 9; vi. 12; viii. 4).

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THE BOOK OF OBADIAH

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

IN the Hebrew Bible this book occupies the fourth place among the "*Twelve*," being placed after *Amos* and before *Jonah*, and this position is retained in the Peshitta, the Vulgate and the modern versions. In the Septuagint, however, it stands fifth in this collection, following *Joel* and preceding *Jonah*.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Among the tribes which remained outside Israel, yet were akin to them, Edom, to the south of the Dead Sea, was that which was held to be nearest. This people had attained to an ordered government before the foundation of the Hebrew monarchy, and, when David established his kingdom on a firm basis, the conquest of Edom was one of the steps which he took to protect his southern frontier. Its subjugation was also necessary if the southern trade, especially through the Red Sea port of Ezion-geber, was to be maintained, and the assertion of its independence in the reign of Solomon was an important factor in the decline of Israelite prosperity. Throughout the period of the monarchy the mark of a strong king of Judah was that he conquered Edom; but Judahite hold on the country was never secure. Edomites took a prominent part in the attacks on Jerusalem which preceded the fall of the city, and took advantage of the partial desolation of the land during the Exile to press northwards. The rivalry and hostility continued until about 127 B.C.; John Hyrcanus subdued Edom, and compelled its people to become Jews. The Herod family, with all that this meant to the pure Jew, was of Edomite origin.

III. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The book of *Obadiah* is a collection of oracles directed against Edom, and resembles such collections as those found in Jer. xlv-li. Two of the oracles which appear in the Edom section of the Jeremiah collection appear also here, though one of the two is represented only by a fragment. It would seem that the following oracles or fragments were originally distinct: Verses 1-4 (= Jer. xlix. 14-16) condemning the pride of Edom; verse 5, a fragment from an oracle which appears in fuller form in Jer. xlix. 7-11, where the completeness of the destruction of Edom is emphasized; verses 6-7 describe the foes arrayed against Edom; verses 8-9 predict the doom of the wise men for whom Edom was famous; verses 10-11 ascribe the punishment to the part Edom had played in the humiliation of Jerusalem; verses 12-17 (which may include some later additions at the end) deal with the same theme, though the metre and style are rather different from the preceding; finally, verses 18-21 foretell the part that Israel will play in carrying out vengeance on Edom. This also seems to have suffered from accretions at the end.

IV. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

It is impossible to be certain that all the oracles included in this collection are to be ascribed to the same prophet, or even to the same time. But the age in which the hostility between Judah and Edom was most strongly developed was that which followed the fall of Jerusalem, and even the forcible conversion of the Edomites to Judaism by John Hyrcanus did not end the sense of antagonism. These oracles might have come from almost any time between the end of the sixth and the middle of the second centuries B.C., though an earlier date rather than a later is the more probable.

Of the author we know nothing; we do not know that a prophet Obadiah ever existed. The name is one which might easily have been applied to a collection of anonymous

prophecies, since it means simply "Servant of Yahweh," and the inclusion of two of the oracles in the book of *Jeremiah* proves that these were known in one form, at any rate, as anonymous. This, however, does not preclude the possibility that there were other prophecies which were known to have been uttered by a man of this name.

V. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

The text of this book has been, on the whole, badly preserved; much of it is obviously corrupt. Some help may be derived from the Septuagint, and some from parallels in *Jeremiah*, though, it must be admitted, the text as it stands in that book is in no better condition.

THE BOOK OF JONAH

I. THE DATE OF THE BOOK

THE opening words of the book, "Now the word of Yahweh came unto Jonah the son of Amittai," would point to its having been written in the reign of Jeroboam ii (788-747 B.C.), since, according to ii Kings xiv. 25, the prosperous years of this king of Israel were foretold by "Jonah, the son of Amittai, which was of Gath-Hepher." For it is evident that we are intended to understand by the Jonah of this book the prophet mentioned in ii Kgs. xiv. 25. This would indicate a date for the book soon after 800 B.C.

The arguments against such an early date are, however, overwhelming. Much stress need not be laid on the fact that the author of our book seems to have known the book of *Joel* (cp. iii. 9 with Joel ii. 14, and iv. 2 with Joel ii. 13), the narrative portions of which belong to the middle of the fourth century B.C.,¹ though this indication of date must not be ignored; but more convincing is the language of the book. Thus, when we find words used by the writer which are common in post-Biblical Hebrew, but which do not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament, or only in writings which are recognized on all hands to be of late date, the presumption is irresistible that their presence in the book denotes a late period. It might be urged that the words or phrases in question are merely marks of "working over" by a late editor; but the objection is not valid, for they do not at all give the impression of being the work of an editor; moreover, they belong too much to the general style of the writing to suggest that they are not part of the original form. A few illustrations may be offered: in i. 5 the word translated "mariners" is Aramaic and is never found in classical Hebrew, but it is common in the Talmud and in Midrashic works. In the same verse the Aramaic

¹ See above, pp. 358 ff.

word for "ship" occurs, and it is interesting to note that the Hebrew word for this is used in the preceding verse, which shows that it was not yet superseded; in the Mishnah and the Gemara it is the Aramaic word which is used. In iii. 2 the word translated "preaching" (better "proclamation") never occurs elsewhere in the Bible, but it is common in post-Biblical Hebrew; and, once more, in iii. 7 an Aramaic word is used for "decree," and this, too, is never found elsewhere in the Old Testament, but is common in the Talmud.

Of verbs we have, *e.g.* in i. 6 an Aramaic root used, meaning to "think upon" or "take thought for"; it occurs in Dan. vi. 3 (Aram. 4), though the verbal form is different, otherwise it is not found in the Old Testament, but it is frequent in this form in the Targums. In i. 11, 12 the verb meaning "to be calm" is Neo-Hebrew, occurring in the Old Testament in late passages only, Prov. xxvi. 20, Ps. cvii. 30; it is the usual word in late Hebrew, and is common in the Talmud and Midrash. So, too, the verb for to "prepare," in i. 17 (Aram. ii. 1), iv. 6, 8, is found in the form used only in Neo-Hebrew and Aramaic. Likewise in iv. 10 the word for to "labour" is late Hebrew, found elsewhere in the Bible only in *Ecclesiastes* and in the later portions of *Proverbs*, but it is common in post-Biblical Hebrew.

But still more important are modes of expression which are alien to classical Hebrew; these are perhaps the most telling signs of late composition.

In the R.V. the phrase in i. 4 is rendered: "so that the ship was like to be broken" (*i.e.* on account of the mighty tempest); literally it is, "so that the ship was minded to be broken"; this verb is never used in reference to inanimate objects like a ship in classical Hebrew. The R.V. avoids the difficulty, as it would sound to us, by rendering "was like to be broken." Again in iv. 10, in reference to the gourd, it is said: "which came up in a night, and perished in a night." This is necessarily a paraphrase; literally the Hebrew might be translated: "which was the son of a night, and perished the son of a night"; the form of the relative is late (so, too, elsewhere in the

book), and the mode of expression is Neo-Hebrew, and it is not found elsewhere in the Old Testament. To late Hebrew belong also the forms for "on account of whom" (i. 7), and "for my sake" (i. 12); similar forms occur in other late books, *e.g.* Ecclus. viii. 17, Song of Solomon i. 6, iii. 7, and they are the usual forms in post-Biblical Hebrew and in the Targums. Finally, in iv. 11 the word for 10,000 in the original is an Aramaism; it is a form of the absolute found only in late Biblical books and in post-Biblical literature.

These examples constitute a strong argument for the late date of the book of *Jonah*, especially on account of the approximation to Aramaic which they exhibit. It is true that as early as the reign of Hezekiah (725-696 B.C.) we find a knowledge of this language existent in Palestine; but this was exceptional. In writing about the prevalence of the Aramaic language in general during the Persian period, Nöldeke remarks that "this preference for Aramaic, however, probably originated under the Assyrian empire, in which a very large proportion of the population spoke Aramaic; in it this language would naturally occupy a more important position than it did under the Persians. Thus we understand why it was taken for granted that a great Assyrian officer could speak Aramaic (ii Kgs. xviii. 26 = Isa. xxxvi. 11); and why the dignitaries of Judah appear to have learned the language; namely, in order to communicate with the Assyrians."¹ While the nobles knew Aramaic, the common people did not understand it, and that was why the princes asked Rabshakeh to use it. We must not, therefore, conclude that because at this comparatively early period Judæan officials knew Aramaic, it was in any way generally known in Palestine at that period. Although the influence of Aramaic steadily grew, this did not really begin until well after the Exile. The book of *Jonah*, to judge from its language, must belong to an early stage of this period of gradual transition from Hebrew to Aramaic, approximately 350 B.C. or thereabouts; some scholars would put it a little later.

¹ *Encycl. Bibl.*, i. 281 f.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the case of the book of *Jonah* the historical background must be considered from a point of view different from that of the prophetic books in the stricter sense; here it is not the external historical surroundings which concern us, but the internal state of the country and its people. During and after the Exile circumstances arose which accentuated the antagonism between Jews and Gentiles. The work of Ezra in inculcating the observance of the Law had, in course of time, the effect of exaggerating in their own eyes the importance and superiority of the "people of the Law," and of causing them to look upon all other peoples as inferior to themselves. Moreover, as the elect people of God, the Jews, upon whom alone—as was believed—the marks of divine favour had been showered, and above all, who had alone been the recipients of divine revelation, regarded all other nations as outside the pale of God's mercy and care. This was, more or less, the official attitude towards the non-Jewish world. But not all the Jews assumed this narrow, uncompromising position; a deeper conception of the Personality of God and a higher ideal of human relationship impelled them to oppose the self-centred particularism of many of their brethren, and to think and speak of the Gentiles, too, as objects of the divine solicitude and compassion. Instead of the belief in a coming vengeance of God upon the Gentiles, culminating in their utter destruction, the Jews, according to this view, were to be God's instruments for the salvation of the nations of the world. These opposing standpoints find expression in some of the post-exilic writings of the Old Testament; but nowhere are they presented in more convincing contrast than in the book of *Jonah*. The writer sets forth Jonah as the type of the narrow-minded, exclusive Jew, who not only despises all non-Jews, but conceives of the Almighty as the God of the Jews only, and as a God who has no care for the rest of His creation. The author himself, on the other hand, not only makes Jonah the unconscious or unwilling cause of the conversion, first of the mariners, and then of

the Ninevites, but also teaches the divine truth of the universal Fatherhood of God.

Our book thus reflects the two opposing schools of thought, the particularists and the universalists, within Jewry. The author was, thus, a propagandist, and accordingly it may well be that he chose the name of Jonah as his leading *persona dramatis* for the purpose of propaganda; we suggest that there was here a twofold reason:

(i) The historical Jonah lived at a period during which the Assyrian empire was growing to great power. It was, at the most, very shortly before his activity that an Assyrian monarch, Shalmaneser iii, came for the first time into direct contact with the land of Israel, and the result was humiliating to the Israelites, who had, therefore, no reason to love the Assyrians; indeed, the fear and hatred of them grew with the centuries, and their very land became detestable. The feelings entertained towards this land to the north-east are well depicted in one of the visions of the prophet Zechariah; he sees in his vision a woman named *Rish'a*, who is the personification of "Wickedness," lifted up and carried away to the land of Shinar, the land to the north-east (Zech. v. 5-11), i.e. Babylonia,¹ which had been part of the Assyrian empire. Not only is this land the most fitting dwelling-place for "Wickedness," but, what is more important, the land where "Wickedness" has her abode must inevitably go to ruin. Nothing could more pointedly illustrate the hatred of the Jews for the Gentiles who lived in this land of "Wickedness" than this prophetic vision. Now it was in the reign of Shalmaneser iii that direct contact between Israel and this land began. It may or may not be a point of significance that, unlike his immediate predecessors, Shalmaneser iii made Nineveh the royal residence.² At any rate, the historical Jonah lived at a time when Assyria had become the leading world-power, and when it had come for the first time, and with dire consequences, into direct contact with Israel; and this may well have been one reason why the writer of our book chose

¹ See Isa. xi. 11, Dan. i. 2.

² Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 589 (1885).

the name of Jonah the son of Amittai as that of his hero, for there was a point of contact between Jonah and the land to the north-east which applied to no other prophet.¹

(ii) It is conceivable that the name of Jonah appealed to the writer of our book for an additional reason. The name means "dove"; and Nineveh, the city to which he goes, was the chief sanctuary of the goddess Ishtar whose sacred bird was the dove. It is possible that the writer of our book wished to place in contrast Jonah, the "dove" sent by Yahweh, the God of Israel, and the dove sacred to the tutelary goddess of the city. The idea may seem fanciful at first, but our author, as we shall see, was not unfamiliar with some of the mythological *data* regarding ancient Nineveh, in which case he may have desired, quite in the Jewish fashion, to point a moral by showing the difference of purpose between his God in sending His messenger, the "dove," and the heathen goddess with her debased cult, who was symbolized by her sacred dove.

III. THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BOOK

Apart from the traditional interpretation which takes the story of Jonah in a literal sense, and which is now discarded by all modern scholars, there are two methods of explaining it, one or other of which is adopted by commentators: the mythological and the symbolic. The main objection to the mythological interpretation, as it seems to the present writers, is that from the point of view of the narrative itself it has no *raison d'être*. The mythological interpretation necessarily postulates that the great fish which swallowed Jonah is *Tehom*, the dragon of the subterranean deep. But this sea-monster was the embodiment of the principle of evil, inimical to God and man; whereas in our book the fish is represented as beneficent, since it saves Jonah. *Tehom* would be altogether out of place in our story. The fact

¹ There is no reason why the writer of *Jonah* should not have known something about Assyrian history, especially when it touched that of his own people.

that neither *Tehom* is used in reference to the big fish,¹ nor yet *Tannin*, nor yet *Leviathan*, both likewise mythological monsters, and harmful, is in itself an argument against a mythological interpretation. Moreover, on the supposition of such interpretation, it may well be asked: What is the application? Cheyne, one of the most thorough-going of this school, says that "it is the all-absorbing empire of Babylon which swallowed up Israel—not, however, to destroy it, but to preserve it and to give it room for repentance."² But what has this to do with the subject-matter of the book? The repentance and conversion of the *Gentiles* through the mercy and long-suffering of God, not the captivity and spiritual condition of Israel, is the burden of the story. Having regard to the author's evident love of symbolism, as exemplified by the name Jonah, and by the story of the gourd, it seems much more natural to interpret the sojourn of Jonah in the great fish for three days and three nights symbolically, and to regard this as the symbol of Nineveh, the "great city of three days' journey"; while his being vomited out is symbolic of his going out of the repentant city; he was out of place there. In this connexion attention must be drawn to an illuminating article by the late J. C. Ball: he gives the written symbol denoting Nineveh and its tutelary goddess in cuneiform characters; this in the linear character, or ideogram, appears as the outline of a two-storied building, with a fish on the lower floor. With the determinative prefix for "city" the character was read *Ni-nu-a*, i.e. Nineveh; and with its determinative of deity, "god" or "goddess," it denoted the tutelary divinity of the place. "It is," he says, "surely a fact of capital importance for a right estimate of the character of the Biblical book of *Jonah* that the name of the city to which the prophet was sent was expressed in writing, from the earliest period, by a combination of the symbols for *house* and *fish*. For this fact at once suggests that the three days' sojourn of Jonah in the *House of the Fish*, i.e. Nineveh, might be symbolized or haggadically represented

¹ It is always the ordinary Hebrew word for "fish" that is used (i. 17, ii. 1, 10), viz. *dag*.

² *Encycl. Bibl.*, ii. 2568.

as a three days' abode in the bowels of a 'Great Fish'; much as Israel's enforced sojourn in Babylon could be compared with being swallowed up by a dragon" (Jer. li. 34).¹

The objection that "there is no trace of the writer of *Jonah* having been a man of learning"² is hardly valid; the constant intercourse between the Jews of Babylonia and Palestine would make many ideas and traditions current in the former generally familiar, and there is no reason why the writer of *Jonah*, with his wide outlook, should not have been acquainted with these.

IV. INTEGRITY OF THE BOOK

With one notable exception the book forms an obvious unity; the exception is the psalm contained in ii. 2-9 (Hebr. ii. 3-10). In ii. 1 it is said: "Then Jonah prayed unto Yahweh out of the fish's belly. And he said . . ." Then follows the psalm; this, however, is not a prayer, but a thanksgiving for deliverance from a watery grave. But this thanksgiving is uttered before the deliverance has taken place, for it is not until the end of the psalm that the words occur: "And Yahweh spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land" (verse 10). Moreover, it will be acknowledged that if this psalm occurred elsewhere, *e.g.* in the Psalter, there would not necessarily be anything in it to suggest its connexion with Jonah in the fish's belly. It is only its present position which suggests such a connexion. Nowhere in the psalm is there any mention or hint of Jonah being inside the fish; indeed, such an idea is excluded by the words of verse 5: "The weeds were wrapped about my head"; as Wellhausen pointedly remarks: "Weeds do not grow in a whale's belly."³ It is evident that the psalm expresses the grateful outpouring of one who had been nearly drowned, whereas in the case of Jonah

¹ The ideogram is:
xx. pp. 9 ff. (1898).



Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology,

² Cheyne, *ibid.*

³ *Die kleinen Propheten*, p. 221 (1898).

there is no question of drowning. The psalm was clearly not an original part of the book, but was added later by one who felt that it would be appropriate to insert what he thought would represent the words which Jonah would have uttered. That the text runs perfectly smoothly without it is seen by reading ii. 10 immediately after ii. 1: "Then Jonah prayed unto Yahweh out of the fish's belly. And Yahweh spake unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land."

Whether the psalm is earlier or later than the book itself cannot be decided; that it was inserted after the book had been written does not necessarily imply that it was later in date; all that can be said is that it is post-exilic;¹ various passages in it are reminiscent of the *Psalms*.

V. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

Apart from a very few glosses the Hebrew text has been preserved in remarkably good order. One displacement seems to have occurred, iv. 5 does not read logically in its present context; its proper place is after iii. 4. It should also be noted that there is a change in the use of the divine names, Yahweh and Elohim; on the basis of this Böhme² has propounded a theory that the book is combined from two sources; this is highly improbable. It is far more naturally explained by Marti, who holds that a later reader of the book took exception to the use of the Tetragrammaton and substituted Elohim for it; in iv. 6, where both occur together, he presumably forgot to make the alteration.

The Septuagint is of little value so far as this book is concerned. It is, however, of interest to note that "in certain MSS. and a large proportion of cursives the *Psalms* are followed by a collection of liturgical *cantica*";³ among these is the psalm in ch. ii.

¹ See further, Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, p. 241 (1922).

² *ZATW* vii. pp. 224 ff. (1887).

³ Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

THE BOOK OF MICAH

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

In the Hebrew Bible, the Peshitta, the Vulgate and modern versions, the book of *Micah* stands sixth among the “*Twelve*,” following *Jonah* and preceding *Nahum*. In the Septuagint, however, it stands third, being placed after *Amos*, probably on account of its length.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Micah was a contemporary of Isaiah, and witnessed the same series of historical events as he. But he was far more impressed than Isaiah by the condition of the rural population, since he lived in the agricultural district of the Shephelah.¹ Life as he saw it was very similar to that which Amos observed in the north, with the rich oppressing the poor, and the working peasant often reduced to the most distressing and humiliating position. Like Amos, Micah realised that this state of affairs could not continue, and that destruction was the only possible outcome. The book is quoted in Jer. xxvi. 18, and we gather from that passage that his message did effect some improvement in conditions. Certainly, apart from one or two passages in *Isaiah*, we hear comparatively little elsewhere about social injustice in the Judæan countryside.

III. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The book of *Micah* falls into three clearly marked sections. The first, consisting of chs. i–iii, is a collection of oracles in which the sins of Samaria and Judah are denounced. Chs. iv–v are eschatological, and even Messianic, in tone, while chs. vi–vii contain both threat and promise. We may look at these in rather more detail.

¹ The tract of land lying between the hill country of Judah and the Mediterranean.

1. Chs. i-iii. This collection opens with an oracle in which the whole world is summoned to witness the catastrophes which will take place as a result of the sins of Judah and Israel (i. 2-5a). 5b-6 fastens the sin more particularly on Jerusalem and Samaria, and in 7-9 we have another account of the doom which befalls these places. Verse 7 is sometimes regarded as a later addition; if so, it must have been appended to 6 at an early stage. If, on the other hand, it belongs to what follows, we must assume that something has been lost before it. Verse 9 seems to be incomplete, and this oracle was almost certainly mutilated. Verses 10-16 constitute a dirge over the disasters which have come upon various cities in Judah. It is especially marked by *paranomasia*.

The first three verses of ch. ii are in dirge form, but are a complaint of the oppressiveness of the country magnates. Another dirge—or fragment of a dirge—follows in verse 4, to which an explanatory note has been attached in verse 5. Verses 6-7 are a remonstrance by the prophet's hearers, which is answered in verses 8-10. Verse 11 seems to be isolated unless we can suppose that it is the retort of the people to what the prophet has just said. Verses 12-13 are a consolatory utterance which, apparently, assumes that the Exile has already taken place. Unless we can suppose that the scattered remnant to be restored are the exiles of the north, taken away by Tiglath-pileser and Sargon, this must date from the sixth century at the earliest.

Ch. iii opens with a bitter denunciation of the local magnates of the countryside (iii. 1-4). This is followed by a condemnation of the false prophets, with whom Micah contrasts himself (verses 5-8). The section concludes in iii. 9-13 with a further denunciation of the local powers.

2. Chs. iv-v. This collection opens with a passage, verses 1-4, which occurs also in Isa. ii. 2-4; though here it is in a more complete form, and an isolated fragment has been appended to verse 5. iv. 6-8 depict the restoration of the exiles and Zion's recovery of her ancient sovereignty. Verses 9-10 tell of the Exile (now in the near future) but with a promise of restoration. In 11-13 this promise is

realized, and v. 1¹ is a summons to mourning, which suggests that Israel is actually suffering foreign invasion. Ch. v. 2-4 foretell the coming of a Davidic king; to this has been appended a prophecy of the seven princes which is assigned by many to the Maccabæan age (verses 5-6). Verses 7-9 predict miraculous prosperity to the Diaspora, while verses 10-15 threaten Israel with disaster in terms which are more suited to the pre-exilic than to a later period.

3. Chs. vi-vii. In this section also we have a collection of different pieces, but they vary in character, not only from what has gone before but also from one another. The collection opens with what appears to be a fragment of an appeal to the people, based on their history (vi. 1-5). It recalls passages like Am. ii. 9-11, but lacks a conclusion. This is followed by the best known passage in the book, vi. 6-8, dealing with the essentials of true religion. Verses 9-12 are a denunciation of commercial iniquity, and 13-16 foretell punishment because the people have followed in the sins of the house of Omri. vii. 1-3 offers a lament over the moral state of the people, and perhaps verse 4 belongs to this passage, though its meaning and text are not clear. Verses 5-7 afford a parallel to the last oracle. In verses 8-10 we have a fragment of a Psalm of justification, in which the speaker tells his accusers that, though he has suffered from the just anger of Yahweh, he will yet rise triumphant from his sorrows. Verses 11-13 predict the restoration of the walls of Jerusalem, and the concluding passage, vii. 14-20, is a prayer for the forgiveness and restoration of the whole people.

IV. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP ²

We learn from Jer. xxvi. 18 that, at the end of the seventh century B.C., Mi. iii. 12 was held to be the work of Micah the Morashtite, a prophet who had lived in the days of

¹ Heb. iv. 14; the numeration of verses in ch. v differs in the Hebrew Bible accordingly.

² An adequate summary of the history of the criticism of this book will be found in J. M. P. Smith, *Micah* (ICC), pp. 9-16 (1912). The most recent contribution to the subject is that of Lindblom, *Micah literarisch untersucht* (1929).

Hezekiah. Since this passage is to be dated only a hundred years after the time to which it refers, it may be accepted as reliable. Further, we may assume that everything in the first collection which corresponds with this verse may be assigned to the same prophet. But the language used in *Jeremiah* makes it evident that Micah was not known to have said anything that was inconsistent with, or contradictory to, this condemnation. It does not follow that the words of Micah were current in book form; they may still have been at the stage of oral tradition, or known in isolated oracular pieces, and we have to allow for the possibility that the collection in Mic. i-iii was made later than the time of Jeremiah. This possibility becomes a probability when we notice that the collection includes a passage (ii. 12-13) which presupposes the Exile. It is true that it mentions a "king," but the parallel in the second part of the line shows that this is Yahweh, and it is so much the clearer that the utterance reflects the theocratic ideals of the late exilic and the post-exilic period. Where we have indications of date elsewhere in this collection, they invariably point to a pre-exilic date, and usually, to the period to which Jer. xxvi. 18 assigns Micah, *e.g.* in i. 5 f. we have references which show that Samaria was still standing, though its fall was expected. This collection, then, composed mainly of the oracles of Micah of Moresheth-Gath, was probably made not long after the return from the Exile.

The second collection, on the other hand, must be a good deal later than the first. There may be pre-exilic passages in it, *e.g.* iv. 9-10 may come from the age of Jeremiah, v. 6-7 suggest the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.,¹ and v. 10-15 would suit a pre-exilic period at least as well as a later age. On the other hand, the Messianic passage in v. 2-4 can hardly be earlier than the Exile, and may be very much later, while the references to the Diaspora in iv. 6-8, and the eschatological tone of iv. 11-v. 1, suggest a comparatively late date. On the whole, we cannot assign

¹ The alternative is the Maccabæan age, when Syria was spoken of as Assyria. But it is less likely that the name of Nimrod would have appeared in a prophecy of this age.

the compilation of the collection to a period earlier than the fifth century B.C., and, if the references in v. 5-6 are really to be ascribed to the Maccabæan age, then the collection must be very late indeed.

It is interesting to note that the third collection contains some passages which might quite well be by Micah himself. Thus vi. 14-16 have been held¹ to refer to Samaria before 722 B.C., and it has been suggested that in the great passage vi. 6-8 we have an answer given by the prophet to the doubts of the new settlers, after the destruction of the northern kingdom.² On the other hand, in vii. 11-13 we have a passage which may be nearly as late as the age of Nehemiah, and cannot be earlier than the Return from the Exile. Here, again, we have a collection which can hardly have reached its present form before the latter part of the fifth century B.C., and may be later still.

V. THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

Since the reference in Jer. xxvi. 18 confirms, but does not add to, what we know of Micah from the book that bears his name, it is to that that we must turn for our information. As with most of the prophets, there is little for us to learn. Micah came from Moresheth-Gath, whose site has not been identified, though it clearly lay in the Judæan Shephelah. Unlike Isaiah, he was thus a countryman, and his outlook resembles that of Amos more than that of any other prophet. He differs from Amos, however, in being more deeply in sympathy with the sufferings of the oppressed peasantry; we are left with the impression that he was himself under the harrow. Micah had a fervid and vigorous personality, and employed powerful modes of expression. No prophet is more bitter—we might almost say more savage—in his condemnation of the social evils of his day. The denunciation of the rural magnates and of the prophets in iii. 1-4, 5-7 breathes an extraordinary vindictiveness and passion. Like Amos, he stood for righteousness, and for a

¹ By Lindblom; cp. *Micah literarisch untersucht*. pp. 116-120.

² Cp. ii Kgs. xvii. 24-31. The suggestion is due to Burkitt; see *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, xlv. pp. 159-161 (1926).

type of righteousness which gave full value to the rights and needs of human personality. Any other ruling principle must lead to ruin. Micah thus adds nothing to the doctrines of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, but he does reinforce them and apply them to the conditions of his own time with peculiar effectiveness.

It is impossible even to speculate on the authors of the later passages in the second and third sections of the book. But, again, their message has little significance beyond the fact that it represents the general trend of prophetic, Messianic, and early eschatological teaching. The only point specifically used by later times was the identification of Bethlehem as the birthplace of the Messiah.

VI. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

The Hebrew text of this book is often corrupt, though it is not in such a bad state of preservation as that of *Hosea*. Illustrations may be seen in i. 10, ii. 4, 8, 12, vii. 11, while scribal additions are probably included in ii. 3, iii. 8, vi. 5 and elsewhere. Occasionally the versions, especially the Septuagint, offer some help, as in iv. 13, vii. 12, 19, though it is clear that many of the erroneous readings had already found their way into the book before the separation of the Egyptian from the Palestinian text.

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THE BOOK OF NAHUM

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

IN all forms of the Bible this book stands seventh in the list of the "*Twelve*," following *Micah* in the Hebrew Bible, the Peshitta, the Vulgate, and the modern versions, and *Jonah* in the Septuagint. It invariably precedes *Habakkuk*.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

After the death of Ashur-bani-pal, the last of the great kings of Assyria, in 626 B.C., the empire fell rapidly to pieces. Babylon at once secured its independence under the vigorous Chaldæan dynasty, now headed by Nabopolassar, and henceforward a dangerous enemy to Assyria. The Scythian inroads,¹ though no permanent dominion resulted from these, weakened the northern defences of the kingdom, and made it impossible to maintain the Assyrian supremacy over the western parts of the empire. Egypt had finally revolted before the death of Ashur-bani-pal, and the reform of Josiah of Judah, in 621 B.C., may be regarded, in one of its aspects, as a gesture of independence.² We shall probably be justified in assuming that all the outlying dependencies threw off the Assyrian yoke about the same time.

Such details as we have of the next few years come to us from a Babylonian Chronicle, which belongs to the reign of Nabopolassar.³ The story of Assyria's last war begins with the advance of Nabopolassar northwards in 616 B.C. He won a great victory, but Necho, king of Egypt, joined forces with the Assyrians and compelled the Chaldæans to retreat. Nabopolassar met with no better fortune in the

¹ See also below, p. 400.

² Cp. Oesterley and Robinson, *Hist. Israel*, pp. 423 f.

³ See Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* (1923).

following year, but, in 614 B.C., the Medes took the field and destroyed Ashur, the ancient capital of Assyria. The Chaldeans joined the victors, and in 612 B.C. the joint armies succeeded in capturing and sacking Nineveh itself. Resistance was still maintained further west, and in 610 B.C. Harran was captured. Here our records break off, but there are grounds for believing that an attempt was made to preserve the old kingdom at some centre still further east, possibly at Carchemish. We know, at least, that Necho continued his pro-Assyrian expeditions; one is mentioned as having taken place in 608 B.C., and he suffered a decisive and crushing defeat at Carchemish in 605 B.C.

III. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The book of *Nahum* opens with a portion of a psalm, which extends from i. 2 to ii. 2,¹ and originally formed an alphabetic acrostic. It has, however, suffered badly in course of transmission, and the acrostic is not obvious after verse 8 (the Hebrew letter *Kaph*, כ), though it may be recovered conjecturally down to verse 10 (*Samekh* ס). Various attempts have been made to restore the remainder, but without much success. Verse 11 is sometimes regarded as belonging to the prophetic portion of the book, and it is possible that i. 12–ii. 2 did not belong to the original psalm at all, but were attached to it, or rather to the fragment which survives. The oracles proper are contained in ii. 3–iii. 19. It seems that not more than five or six can be distinguished, and all refer to the sack of the city. It should be remarked that most modern commentators put together the fragments now found in i. 11, 14, ii. 1, to form a part of the oracular section, but this arrangement is difficult to justify, since there seems to be no reason why psalm-fragments should have been inserted in the midst of these verses. But we can certainly find a continuous passage in ii. 3–9, where the street fighting and the plundering are described. ii. 10–13 depict the desolation of the

¹ Heb. ii. 3; the numeration of verses in ch. ii differs accordingly in Hebrew and in English.

city after its sack. In iii. 1-4 we have another picture of the horrors of the assault which, possibly, continues down to iii. 7. In iii. 8-13 there is a comparison between the fate of Nineveh and that of the Egyptian Thebes, sacked by Ashur-bani-pal in 663 B.C. Ch. iii. 14-17 describes the feverish but futile efforts of the defenders, and the whole collection closes with a brief dirge over the fallen city, iii. 18-19.

IV. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

The book of *Nahum* resembles that of *Obadiah* in being (apart from the introductory psalm) a collection of oracles directed against a single foreign people. In every other respect, however, it is unique. There is little doubt as to the common authorship of all the oracles; they present us with a style which, for vividness and force, has no parallel elsewhere in the Old Testament and very rarely in other literature. The prophet is a master of word-painting; he, as it were, flings words at the reader, yet his clipped, disjointed sentences are pregnant with meaning; here is an example, being more or less a literal translation of the Hebrew:

“Crack of whip; and rumbling wheels; Galloping riders; Rattling chariots; Plunging steeds; Flashing sword; Glittering spear; Mass of slain, and weight of corpses” (iii. 2, 3). That describes the entry into Nineveh!

In a miscellaneous collection, such as we so often find in other books, differences of style are usually noticeable. The homogeneity of these oracles makes their common authorship practically certain, especially when we remember the extraordinary character of the whole.

The earliest possible date is determined by the reference to the sack of Thebes (No-Amon) in iii. 8, which, as we have seen, took place in 663 B.C. The latest possible limit is supplied by the fall of Nineveh itself in 612 B.C., and the actual date must lie somewhere between these two. The fact that the fall of the city was expected would tend to place Nahum's oracles during the final war, *i.e.* in or soon

after 616 B.C. The only objection to this is the long time which had elapsed since the fall of Thebes. There does not seem, however, to be any decisive difficulty here, since so striking an event might well be remembered for fifty years.

The date of the psalm is more difficult to determine. While a superficial reading of it might suggest that it, too, referred to the fall of Nineveh, closer examination shows that this is very unlikely, since the language of i. 15 implies that the enemy had interfered with the cultus. This is generally held to point to a Maccabæan date, and, if this be correct, we must assume that the book had existed for some centuries before the psalm was prefixed to it.

V. THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

We know nothing of Nahum except what we can gather from the book itself. Elkosh is named as his birthplace, but the site has not been identified; tradition held that he lived and died in Mesopotamia, but the evidence of the book itself makes it clear that he was a Judæan. No details of his life have been preserved, but his style shows him to have been gifted with a vivid imagination and an extraordinary power of expression. No writer in the Old Testament suffers so much in translation; his vigour defies reproduction in any other language.

We do not expect much of the characteristic teaching of the prophets in a book which is wholly occupied with songs of gloating exultation over the fall of a hated enemy. Yet we have hints of the inexorable law of retribution; as Assyria had done to others, so shall it be done to her. We have also, underlying the whole, the sense of the supreme prophetic demand for the recognition of the rights and needs of humanity. In the last resort, it is because Nineveh has neglected these, and has used her power tyrannously, that she must perish. The book might serve as a commentary on Isa. x. 5-15.

VI. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

Except in the psalm, where the aberrations from the acrostic suggest corruption, the text is fairly well preserved. The versions exhibit no peculiarities, though they, especially the Septuagint, are sometimes helpful in restoring difficult passages, *e.g.* in ii, 4, 9, 12; iii. 9, 17.

THE BOOK OF HABAKKUK

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

THIS book always occupies the eighth place among the "Twelve," its position being after *Nahum* and before *Zephaniah*.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The events against which we must see this prophet's work will necessarily be determined by the date to which we assign it. While we shall probably be right in placing Habakkuk in the age of Jeremiah, several scholars¹ would put him as late as the time of Alexander the Great. The foundation of the Macedonian power was the most sudden and spectacular of all the great events of the ancient world; even the rise of Cyrus was slower and achieved less. In 334 B.C. Alexander fought his first battle on Asiatic soil at the river Granicus. In the following year he defeated the full force of the Persian empire at the battle of Issus. The next year he devoted to the subjugation of Syria and Egypt, meeting with serious opposition only at Tyre, and in 331 B.C. he won, at Arbela, the battle which gave him undisputed possession of the whole Persian empire. He seems, on the whole, to have favoured the Jews, and did no harm to Jerusalem or to the Temple. They submitted to him, and Jews were to be found in his armies. He also used them freely for purposes of colonization, and gave them special privileges in their new homes. It will be necessary to bear these facts in mind when considering the date of the prophecies of Habakkuk.

III. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The book of *Habakkuk* at first sight falls into two clearly distinguished parts. The first comprises oracular matter in chs. i-ii, while ch. iii takes the form of a psalm.

¹ *E.g.* Duhm, Sellin.

The first oracular piece is contained in i. 2-4, and forms a statement of the prophet's problem: Why does God allow iniquity to flourish? This is followed by a prediction of the coming of the Chaldeans, "that bitter and hasty nation," in i. 5-11. It may be observed that in verse 9 the subject changes from the plural to the singular. Since it is a nation that is contemplated, either construction is possible, but it seems a little strange, and it may be that we should take verses 9-11 as a separate piece. In i. 12-13 we have the problem of the opening verses repeated, even more strongly and forcibly. This develops naturally, in verses 14-17, into a further complaint of the violence done by some enemy, presumably the same that is mentioned in verses 5-11. In ii. 1-4 the prophet puts himself in the proper attitude of receptivity, and is assured that there is an answer to his problem: while the wicked will suffer, the righteous shall live through his fidelity. The exact meaning of verse 5 is not clear, but in the rest of the chapter we have a series of denunciations, each introduced with "Woe!" and each condemning a different sin, though the sinner may be the same in all. Thus, in verses 6b-8 the man who violently steals land is threatened, in verses 9-11 it is he who builds his house by injustice, in verses 12-13 (to which is attached a sentence closely resembling Isa. xi. 9) it is the city builder, in 15-16 the drunkard, and in 19-20 the idolater. Verse 17 is a curious appendix to the preceding piece—curious, because it has no reference to drinking—and verse 18 is an introduction to the two verses that follow.

Ch. iii in its present form consists of a psalm, which has been taken from a collection such as those which were used for the construction of our present Psalter. It is, however, clearly an adaptation of an earlier poem for this purpose. The original piece consisted of iii. 2-16, where we have a vivid description of a great theophany when Yahweh comes to destroy His foes. To this has been appended an expression of unshakeable confidence in Yahweh, by a pious reader of a later age (iii. 17-19).

IV. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

Of the prophet and of his circumstances nothing whatever is known except what can be deduced from the book itself, and the evidence afforded by the text has raised very serious difficulties. The main problem may be simply stated. We have two threads running through the whole; on the one hand, we have the problem raised by the ruthless persecution of the righteous by a wicked tyrant, and, on the other, we have the judgement pronounced on the tyrant. As the text stands, the Chaldæans, introduced in i. 5-11, are Yahweh's instrument of vengeance on the tyrant, while, apparently, in the rest of the book they are identified with the tyrant himself.

Various attempts have been made to solve the problem thus created. Some¹ have assumed that the original prophecy has received numerous additions and interpolations, to which its present confusing character is due. Budde seeks to elucidate the question by placing the description of the advancing Chaldæans (i. 5-11) after ii. 4, thus producing a continuous development of thought. The Chaldæans are not now the oppressive tyrant, but only the instruments of Yahweh's vengeance. To this it has been objected that the description does not fit the Chaldæans at all, for they were not a comparatively unknown people, as is suggested by the way in which they are introduced, nor did they move from west to east as is implied in i. 9.

A most interesting theory has, therefore, been worked out by Duhm, and is accepted by Sellin and others. On this view the appearance of the Chaldæans is due to textual corruption, and it is really the victorious Greeks under Alexander the Great whom the prophet has in view. The whole is to be dated shortly after the battle of Issus (333 B.C.). Instead of "Chaldæans" in i. 6 we should read "Kittians" (properly Cypriotes, but possibly used of Greeks in general), and in ii. 5 instead of "wine" we should read "Greek."² It may be said at once that both these textual changes are easy, and no objection could be

¹ *E.g.* Marti.

² The two words in Hebrew are very similar.

raised to them if the theory were justified on other grounds. It is further pointed out that Alexander, alone among the conquerors of the ancient world, can be spoken of as having subdued so many nations, and that his habit of building cities as centres of Greek influence is referred to in ii. 12-14. We may regard these as the main points in an attractive and brilliant theory.

When we look further into the matter, however, we are less certain that Duhm has found the right solution to the problem. It is by no means clear that the advancing conqueror is moving from west to east. The word for "east (wind)" is in the accusative, it is true, but in a Semitic language the accusative does not necessarily imply "motion towards." The Septuagint actually had "from the east," which may be an interpretation or (more probably) a difference of reading. There is no evidence whatever to suggest that Alexander ever ill-treated the Jews, and their later experiences with the Persian empire, especially under Artaxerxes Ochus, would tend to make them welcome a new conqueror as a deliverer. There is, moreover, evidence to show that the term "nations" might be applied to different clans or groups of people resident in Palestine, perhaps even in Judah.¹ Even if this be not deemed a sufficient explanation of the use of the plural, there remains the possibility that the text has been modified in an eschatological sense. We should do well to examine the matter afresh before committing ourselves to a fourth-century date.

A great deal of the difficulty has been due to the feeling (perhaps an unconscious feeling) that the book was originally written by a prophet as a single, continuous whole. As soon as we remember that it, like other prophetic books, is a collection of oracles made, possibly, long after the time of the prophet to whom they are ascribed, a large part of the problem disappears. We do not need Budde's reorganization of the text, for there is no reason to believe that the priority in the book of i. 5-11 points to priority in the actual delivery of the oracles concerned.

Further, we may remark that much of the language of

¹ Cp. Jer. iv. 7, 16.

the book suggests the age of Jeremiah, if not actual dependence on the utterances of that prophet. The main problem of the book is raised in Jer. xii. 1 ff. The description of the "Chaldæans" can hardly fail to remind us of the foe whom Jeremiah envisaged,¹ while the condemnation of the tyrant in Hab. ii. 9, 12, inevitably recalls the judgement pronounced on Jehoiakim in Jer. xxii. 13 ff. These last passages also suit a domestic tyrant rather than a foreign oppressor, and we are faced with the possibility that the prophet was troubled by a wicked ruler as well as by a heartless conqueror—not necessarily the same person.

One of our difficulties is certainly that the oracles have been modified before their inclusion in the present book. We cannot regard ii. 14, for instance, as the original conclusion of the oracle which begins with verse 12, since it appears also as the final sentence of the great Messianic passage in Isa. xi. 1 ff. We may go so far as to suspect that most of the "Woes" in ch. ii consisted originally of a single short sentence, which has been modified, either by a collector or, more probably, before it came into his hands.

We have, then, to find a time at which a righteous man was overwhelmed by a cruel opponent, probably a foreign conqueror, and about the same time the country suffered from the exactions of a ruler who erected magnificent buildings at the expense of his people. Is there any period which fits these facts better than the years 608 B.C. and those which followed? The good Josiah,² overwhelmed by the cruel Egyptian king, and followed by Jehoiakim—these would fit the circumstances as no others known to us would do. It must be admitted that there are still several problems left for solution. We do not know that the Egyptians offered sacrifice to their nets (i. 16), but we do not know that Alexander did so either. We may make the same remark of the "violence done to Lebanon" (ii. 17). Archæology may some day be able to throw real light on these problems, but at present we are completely in the

¹ Cp. *e.g.*, Jer. iv. 13, v. 6; Hab. i. 8.

² We need to remember that it was the democratic and ethical features of Josiah's government which appealed to the prophetic mind rather than his religious policy. It was here that Jehoiakim was so strongly contrasted with his father. Cp. Jer. xxii. 15-17.

dark. In the meantime, the end of the seventh century B.C. is probably the period which best suits the conditions of most of the oracles included in this book, though there are certainly later additions. The final Woe (ii. 19-20), for instance, can hardly be pre-exilic, since it breathes the spirit of Deutero-Isaiah.

The dating of the psalm in ch. iii is more difficult. Duhm and Sellin regard it as the crown and climax of the book, and therefore attribute it (except the final verses, 17-19) to the prophet himself. But this conclusion is necessarily based on the very improbable hypothesis that the prophet himself was responsible for the book in practically its present form. If the book as we now have it does lead up to the poem, it is the collector or compiler who is responsible for this arrangement, and the fact gives us no clue to the authorship. There is, however, little or nothing in it which makes a pre-exilic date impossible, though the combination of a theophany with an historical retrospect would be more natural from the pen of a post-exilic writer. In any case, the final compilation of the book cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the fifth century.

V. THE PROPHET AND HIS MESSAGE

We know nothing, as we have said, of Habakkuk except what we can gather from the book itself; even his name is somewhat of a puzzle. Apart from all questions of date there are two points in which the book is important. In the first place, we have in ii. 1 a very valuable light on the methods of the canonical prophet. All prophecy, at least until a comparatively late post-exilic period, was based on a peculiar psychological condition to which the name *ecstasy* is often given. It was characteristic of the false prophet as well as of the true, but the former often, if not always, resorted to artificial means for its production—music, drugs, mass excitation, or other methods. As far as we know, the true prophet, represented by those whose words have been handed down in our Bible, eschewed such means of producing the necessary condition. At the same

time, he could do something at least to prepare himself for its reception; he could place himself in a mental attitude in which it might occur. Sometimes, even then, the phenomenon was delayed (cp. ii. 3); Jeremiah, on one occasion, had to wait ten days before receiving the communication which he and his people sought (Jer. xlii. 7). But, while we should, perhaps, have guessed this, we have nowhere else so clear an indication of it as in this prophet's statement that he will "stand upon watch" and post himself on his "tower."

Of far greater importance is the question which Habakkuk asked. Given a righteous and omnipotent God, how are we to explain the injustice of the world? Why are the guilty not punished at once, and the righteous rewarded? This problem could have arisen nowhere except in the Israel that had learnt of Yahweh's moral character from the eighth-century prophets. But, given their teaching, it was bound to arise sooner or later.

Unfortunately, we do not know what the prophet's real answer was. It seems to be offered to us in ii. 4—"the righteous shall live through his fidelity." But what does this mean? Are we to understand that the righteous would survive all his disasters, if he were only faithful, and would, in the end, attain the vengeance and the prosperity which he sought? Or is it implied that a righteous man's real *life* consists, not in the things that befall him, good or bad, but in his character and spiritual qualities—in fact, in his fidelity? To some the latter may seem to be too advanced a doctrine even for a Hebrew prophet, but it is a possibility which cannot be ignored. We should not expect to find a complete answer in Habakkuk, whether his date be the seventh or the fourth century B.C., for the problem is one with which the human mind still grapples unsuccessfully. But he was one of the first to ask the question, and the search for an answer, even if not wholly successful, has led man into some of his greatest discoveries in the realm of things divine.

VI. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

The text has not been particularly well preserved, and there are places in which conjectural emendation seems inevitable. Illustrations may be cited from i. 3, 9, 11, ii. 4, etc., while the psalm (ch. iii) is in many places obviously corrupt. The versions, especially the Septuagint, sometimes provide us with a clue, though not as often as in some of the other prophetic books. The Septuagint, for instance, seems to have a better reading in i. 6, 15; iii. 10.

THE BOOK OF ZEPHANIAH

I. PLACE IN THE CANON

THE book of *Zephaniah* occupies the ninth place among the "Twelve" in all forms of the Old Testament, following *Habakkuk* and preceding *Haggai*.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The weakening of the northern defences of the Assyrian empire in the last days of Ashur-bani-pal (669-626 B.C.) left open the path for invasions by hordes of the wilder peoples whose home lay in eastern Europe and west central Asia. These are variously grouped under such titles as Scythians and Cimmerians, and there are frequent references to their inroads in Mesopotamian records. Herodotus states that they dominated western Asia for twenty-eight years, that they marched through Palestine, where they sacked the temple of Aphrodite at Ashkelon, and were prevented from entering Egypt only by heavy bribes.¹ They appear in Assyrian inscriptions as early as the reign of Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.), under the name of Ashkuza.

The story of their invasion of Palestine has been doubted, but on inadequate grounds.² The peril to Judah passed, and there seems little doubt that their incursions brought to an end the Assyrian power in the west. It is probable that their appearance was the occasion of the first utterances of Jeremiah, and we may conjecture that Zephaniah's call came through the same series of events.

III. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

The book of *Zephaniah* consists of a single collection of oracles, mostly short. In i. 1-6 we have a general threat of destruction uttered against the worshippers of Baal. i. 7-8

¹ i. 105, 106.

² Cp. Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, i. pp. 412-415.

announce a great sacrificial feast prepared by Yahweh. i. 9-11 and 12-13 are little pieces which foretell punishment to different groups of sinners. i. 14-18 supply a further description of the Day of Yahweh. In ii. 1-3 the prophet appeals to his people to repent, and ii. 4-7 describe the ruin that is to fall on the Philistine cities. In ii. 8-11 Moab and Ammon are threatened, and verse 12 seems to be an isolated fragment from some threat against Egypt. The doom of Assyria is pronounced in ii. 13-14, to which an addition has been made in verse 15, based on Isaiah xlvii. 8. Ch. iii opens with a threat against Jerusalem in 1-7, followed by a prediction of a general overthrow in verses 8-10.¹ In iii. 11-13 the prophet is once more dealing with Jerusalem and her fate. The book closes with two exultant songs of deliverance in iii. 14-15 and 16-20. The latter has probably received additions in verses 19 and 20.

IV. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

The general authorship of the book has not been seriously doubted, though different editors have found reason to suspect considerable interpolations. These, however, are to be explained, for the most part, by reference to the structure of the whole; there can be little doubt that some of the independent pieces were expanded before their inclusion in the collection. In one case, as we have observed (on ii. 15), the addition can hardly have been made before the close of the Exile, and the final compilation of the book must be set down to the usual age of such compilations, *i.e.* the fifth century B.C.

The ministry of this prophet is dated in the reign of Josiah by the heading of the book, and this is generally accepted as historically accurate. The first oracle, and some other phrases, suggest a time before the reform of Josiah, and it is possible that Zephaniah, like Jeremiah, was concerned in the promulgation of the principles on which the reform was based. The threats against the

¹ The universal application of this oracle has been disputed; Sellin, for instance, regards the mention of the foreign nations as due to interpolation.

foreign nations may have extended over a series of years. There are traditions of a siege of Nineveh (recorded by Herodotus)¹ in 625 B.C., and this may be referred to in ii. 13-14. On the other hand, it seems more likely that this should date from a time some ten years later, when the Chaldeans and the Medes were slowly drawing their net closer around the doomed city.

It should be added that some scholars regard iii. 16 ff. as an exilic or post-exilic utterance. But the signs of the Exile are not obvious until we reach verse 20, which, in any case, is a later addition, and the unsuitability of the passage as a continuation of verse 15 cannot be held to be decisive.

V. THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

Zephaniah has a longer recorded pedigree than any other prophet, and it goes back to Hezekiah, who is usually, and with some reason, identified with the king of that name. If that identification be correct, we have in Zephaniah a person unique among the canonical prophets, since no other is connected with the royal house of Judah. For the rest, we are dependent on the book for our knowledge of the man.

Zephaniah, as shown in the oracles which have come down to us, is not a great original thinker, nor is he the kind of person who would be a real leader to his people. But he does stand in the line of the great prophets; he has the same passion for righteousness, and the same ethical conception of the character and demands of Yahweh. Like many another weaker spirit, he takes refuge, in a time of danger and calamity, in eschatology. His hope lies in an unprecedented interference of Yahweh in human affairs, in the vengeance that shall be taken on evil-doers in his own and other lands, and in the forcible righting of all wrongs. His eschatology is of a comparatively early form; its most striking feature is the great sacrifice which Yahweh will hold in "the day." The thought appears also in Isa. xxxiv. 6 and Jer. xlv. 10, but in neither case is it strictly

¹ i. 103.

eschatological, and the former passage is later than the time of Zephaniah. In the "darkness" (i. 15) which is to mark "the day" we may have a reminiscence of Amos (cp. Am. v. 18, 20), and we may take it for granted that most of the features which he envisaged are a part of the traditional eschatology. Zephaniah is, however, the first of our Old Testament writers whose mind is dominated entirely by eschatological ideas, and it is this which gives him his importance in the history of Israel's religion.

VI. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

The text is, on the whole, fairly well preserved, and where we suspect error the Septuagint often helps us,¹ e.g. in ii. 2, 11, etc.

¹ It should be noted that many of the points mentioned in the footnotes to *Zephaniah* in Kittel's *Biblica Hebraica* (1906) belong to the sphere of higher criticism rather than to that of the text.

THE BOOK OF HAGGAI

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

As Haggai and Zechariah were contemporaries the historical background of their respective books is the same.¹

During the last few years of the reign of Cambyses (he died in 522 B.C.), the son of Cyrus and the second king of the Persian empire, this monarch was absent from his kingdom, and during his absence a Magian² pretender, Gaumata by name, personated the king's brother Bardes (Smerdis), and usurped the throne. Persia, Media, and other provinces fell away from Cambyses.³ The great hold which this usurper managed to obtain over the people is shown by the words of Darius i (Hystaspis): "There was no man, Persian or Median, or one of our family, who could deprive Gaumata of the kingdom; the people feared him for his tyranny . . . no one dared to say anything against Gaumata until I came."⁴ The rebellion was quelled in 521 B.C. with the death of Gaumata. But there were other troubles awaiting Darius; in the Behistun Inscription he tells us of widespread revolts, the empire was seething with restless discontent; Babylonia, Media, Armenia, Hyrcania, Parthia, Bactria, Sagartia, Persia,

¹ By the book of *Zechariah* we mean Zech. i-viii, the remainder of the book which now bears his name belongs to a later century (see pp. 419 ff.).

² The Magi were a high-priestly caste among the Medes, and belonged to the sect of the Zoroastrians; they were mainly occupied in carrying out the ritual in the worship of the gods (of later Zoroastrian belief); they were also healers of sickness; in addition, the giving of oracles was part of their activities; and, of course, they were also concerned with occult practices.

³ For the details of this formidable revolt we are indebted to Herodotus iii. 61-87, and the Behistun Inscription of Darius i. This inscription, recording the victories and great deeds of Darius, occurs on the face of the rock of this name, and is 500 ft. above the main caravan road between Baghdad and Teheran, 65 miles from Hamadan. The inscription, which covers a space of 58 ft. 6 in., is in cuneiform characters, and is written in three languages, Persian (the official language), Susian (the language of the great province of Elam), and Babylonian. For further details, see Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia*, pp. 95-98 (1929).

⁴ Behistun Inscription.

Arachosia on the borders of India—in a word, the whole of the eastern parts of the empire had risen, the various vassal rulers intending to gain independence.

The knowledge of these convulsions would soon have spread to all parts of the empire; and the intercourse which we know to have existed between the Jews of the east and those of Palestine (see, *e.g.*, Zech. vi. 10) would have been the means of keeping the latter informed of what was happening. To Haggai and Zechariah this tumult of nations meant the prelude to the advent of the Messianic kingdom, hence the former says: "Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desirable things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith Yahweh Šebaoth" (ii. 6, 7). And again: "I will shake the heavens and the earth, and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the nations. . . . In that day, saith Yahweh Šebaoth, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant . . . and will make thee as a signet; for I have chosen thee" (ii. 20-23). This was all spoken during the seventh and ninth months of the second year of Darius. But Zechariah, on the other hand, speaking in the eleventh month of the same year, says: "All the earth sitteth still, and is at rest" (Zech. i. 11); this is, however, entirely in accord with what we know of the history; for by the end of the second year of his reign Darius had subdued all his enemies, and there was peace—for the time being. But we have the record of a second revolt of Babylonia, which was not suppressed until the spring of 519 B.C.; this will perhaps explain why Zechariah, in viii. 1-7, written presumably soon after what he had said in i. 11, looks forward with certainty to the coming of the Messianic times.

The historical background explains why both Haggai and Zechariah regarded the approach of the Messianic kingdom as imminent, and why Haggai was so insistent on the need of the Temple being renovated; it was necessary that this should be ready for the dawn of the Messianic kingdom. There was no need for Zechariah to urge the

rebuilding of the Temple, for by the time that he arrived upon the scene this had been seriously taken in hand (Zech. iv. 9).

II. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

Small as the book is, it is of importance for the insight it gives of early post-exilic conditions in Palestine of which we have at the best but scanty knowledge.

The book consists of a series of very short addresses, and two pieces of narrative, also very fragmentary.

i. 1 gives the date of the *first two addresses*, viz. the first day of the sixth month of the second year of Darius; as he came to the throne in 522 B.C., his second year was 520 B.C.; the sixth month was approximately the last week of August and the first three weeks of September. The first two addresses then follow: i. 2-6 and i. 7-11. Both are spoken to the people, and both contain rebukes to them for not undertaking the rebuilding of the Temple. There follows (i. 12-15) a short piece of narrative describing how the people began the work of rebuilding; this is said to have been begun on the twenty-fourth day of the same month; but the sequel shows that something must have interfered with the actual starting of the work.

The *third address* occurs in ii. 2-9; this, too, is preceded by the date, the twenty-first day of the seventh month (the year, though not mentioned, is the same as before). This is again an exhortation to rebuild the Temple, so that it looks as though the people, for some reason, had soon lost heart in their resolve, and needed further urging from the prophet. Then follows another short piece of narrative (ii. 10-14) recording a discussion between Haggai and the priests about clean and unclean; this, too, is dated; but the date, which is *the* one of real importance in the book, is given because, as the sequel shows (ii. 18), it was that on which the rebuilding of the Temple was actually begun, viz. the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of the second year of Darius, *i.e.* about the middle of December 520 B.C. Following upon and joined to this narrative-piece comes the

fourth address (ii. 15-19), which tells of the prosperity now to be looked for since the work had been seriously taken in hand; this was uttered on the same day. Lastly, there is the *fifth address* (ii. 20-23), also delivered on the same day; it is spoken to Zerubbabel, who is designated the Messiah by the prophet; the overthrowing of kingdoms, which indicates the near approach of the Messianic kingdom, is announced.

III. AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK

The opening verse of the book mentions Haggai as having uttered these short addresses, and there can be no doubt that they were originally spoken by him. But that the book as it stands came from his hand cannot be the case; the addresses as we now have them are very greatly curtailed *résumés*; if the prophet himself had written them he would assuredly not have contented himself with such fragments.¹ But more decisive is the fact that the prophet is always spoken of in the third person; that is very unlikely to have been the case had Haggai himself penned the writing. In all probability it is the work of a contemporary who has recorded the salient points of the prophet's addresses. To him will also be due the exact dates so characteristic of the book; it is probable that we have in this particular a mark of Babylonian influence. On the other hand, some scholars hold that we have here the writing of the prophet himself, which, in the first instance, was written in the first person and later modified to the third person by an editor, probably a contemporary, who was familiar with the facts; to this editor was due the introductory sentence prefixed to each oracle. It is pointed out in justification of this view that elsewhere narratives in the third person are devoted mainly to the experiences of the prophets, and have little to say of their teaching.²

¹ Some authorities believe the book to be an extract from some historical work; this is a possibility which cannot be dismissed off-hand; but there is not sufficient evidence to make it certain.

² If this explanation be correct the book will have belonged originally to type C (see above, pp. 229 ff.), though in its present form it must be classed as type B.

IV. THE PROPHET AND HIS TEACHING

The short period of Haggai's activity, so far as the evidence of the book goes, extended from the beginning of September to the middle of December 520 B.C. That he came from Babylonia, where he had hitherto lived among the exiles, is suggested by the prominent mention of Darius at the opening of the book, and by the fact that the Babylonian chronological system is followed; according to this the year began in the spring. But what makes this practically certain is his attitude as recorded in ii. 12-14; this passage shows clearly that Haggai belonged to the circle of priests and scribes who during the Exile were busily occupied with the study and elaboration of the Law; not that Haggai was himself a priest, for he says: "Ask now the priests concerning the law" (ii. 11); but his knowledge of the *minutiæ* of the Law shows that he must have been in close touch with the priestly circles. There is nothing at all to show that any priestly activity in this sense existed in Palestine at this period; it was in Babylon that legalistic Judaism took its rise; the priests to whom Haggai refers came with him from Babylon.

Haggai is called a prophet; but as compared with the pre-exilic prophets he is hardly deserving of the title. The chief activity of the prophets had been the teaching of the ethical righteousness of Yahweh and His demand that his chosen people should show their faithfulness to Him by moral living and spiritual worship; stern denunciation of sin, whether in the social, political, or religious life of the people; the certainty of divine judgement on the wicked, and the promise of a restored people when purified. Of all this there is scarcely a trace to be found in the teaching of Haggai. Drought and unfruitfulness are not spoken of as being a punishment for moral wrong (contrast Am. iv. 6-11), but simply because the people had not taken in hand the rebuilding of the dilapidated Temple. Haggai is almost wholly concerned with urging the people to undertake this renovation and with the promise of the advent of the Messianic time when this is accomplished. His designation

of Zerubbabel as the Messiah shows that his mind was concentrated only on earthly things; of higher religious thought or of the reign of righteousness in the Messiah's kingdom there is not a word. His whole mental outlook and utilitarian religious point of view (see i. 9-11) is sufficient to show that he can have no place among the prophets in the real sense of the word.

V. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

Upon the whole, the Hebrew text is in good order; but a certain number of corruptions occur (*e.g.* in i. 7, 9, 10, 12; ii. 6, 15, 17); glosses are inserted in i. 13; ii. 5, 15. The Septuagint represents an obviously better text in most of these passages, so also in i. 8; ii. 7; it contains an addition in ii. 9 which does not occur in the Hebrew text, but which certainly stood there originally. Thus, in spite of the generally good state of the Hebrew text, the use of the Septuagint is demanded.

THE BOOK OF ZECHARIAH

I. ZECHARIAH AND DEUTERO-ZECHARIAH

THAT the two parts of this book, i-viii and ix-xiv, are of different date and authorship is now generally recognised. The reasons for this view are briefly as follows:

1. The historical background of the two portions of the book, respectively, is quite different; that of the former half has already been dealt with,¹ that of the latter will be considered in detail below;² here it will suffice to notice that the division i-viii belongs quite obviously to the early Persian period; in ix-xiv there is nothing at all that points to this period; it deals with peoples which during the time of Zechariah had no relationship with the Jews; viz. Damascus (ix. 1), Tyre and Zidon (ix. 2), "Assyria,"³ and Egypt (x. 10, 11), and, above all, Greece (ix. 13). In i-viii there are no indications of unrest in the land, while in ix-xiv there are constant references to war and tumult (ix. 4-6, 8, 13-15; x. 3-7; xi. 1-3, xii. 1-9; xiii. 7-9; xiv. 12-19).

2. In i-viii the main subject matter is concerned with *the rebuilding of the Temple* and the imminent approach of the *Messianic Age*; in ix-xiv the former is never even hinted at; the one reference to the Messiah is of an utterly different nature (ix. 9-12), and the apocalyptic ideas in ch. xiv place us within a mental environment of a character far removed from the Messianic conceptions of Zechariah.

3. In i-viii *prominent leaders* are mentioned by name, Zerubbabel and Joshua; but in ix-xiv the leaders are called "shepherds," and they are never named; they are, moreover, of a type as different as possible from Zerubbabel and Joshua.

4. In i-viii *exact dates* are given (i. 1, 7; vii. 1), as well as ascriptions of authorship (i. 1, 7; vii. 8), and it is definitely

¹ See pp. 400 ff.

² See pp. 419 ff.

³ See p. 422.

stated that Zechariah received the visions (i. 7, 8); but in ix-xiv there are no dates, and no name of an author, the only title that occurs is quite indefinite, "the burden of the word of Yahweh" (ix. 1; xii. 1).¹

5. The style and diction of the two parts of the book are strikingly dissimilar; even in English this is noticeable; in reading the Hebrew this argument for difference of authorship is overwhelming.

6. Apart from the last point, the most compelling reason against unity of authorship is the *difference in religious conceptions* between the two parts; this cannot be dealt with in detail here; it must suffice to give one illustration: in i-viii the Messiah is Zerubbabel (iv. 6-10, 14); but in ix-xiv the person of the Messiah is thus described: "Behold, thy king cometh unto thee; he is just and victorious, lowly, riding upon an ass, even upon the foal of an ass" (ix. 9). Elsewhere in this second part of the book the Messiah is represented as a wholly insignificant figure in the Kingdom of God which is to come; in xiv. 9 it is said: "And Yahweh shall be King over all the earth; in that day shall Yahweh be one, and his name one." That is, on the one hand, a theocratic conception quite incompatible with that of an earthly Messianic ruler; and, on the other, it is a universalistic ideal unimaginable in the mouth of Zechariah.

The question of diversity of authorship will come before us again in dealing with ix-xiv.

II. THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH AND HIS PEOPLE

Of the personality and life of the prophet we know, apart from his book, nothing; that, unlike Haggai, he was in the true line of the prophets is clear from his teaching, as shown, above all, in his visions; but that, like Haggai, he was a son of the Exile may be gathered from the fact that he was a grandson of Iddo (i. 1), who, according to Neh. xii. 4 (see also verse 16),² was one of the priests who returned from Babylon; the family had, presumably, settled down in the land of Exile. The record of his activity extends from

¹ See the section on the Prophetic Literature, p. 232.

² In Ezra v. 1; vi. 14 he is called "the son of Iddo."

520-518 B.C., so that, if we are to be guided by what his book tells us, he never saw the completion of the Temple, in 516 B.C., which was the main object of his return to Palestine.

His advent among the returned exiles was intensely needed ; towards the end of the Exile great hopes had animated the hearts of the people owing to the stirring words of a brilliant future uttered by Deutero-Isaiah ; the return to their native land was looked forward to by the exiles as the beginning of an era of prosperity and well-being. But these expectations came to nothing ; Yahweh had not, after all, had mercy on them ; they were disillusioned as to the restoration of the kingdom ; the Gentiles did not pay them homage ; they were still but the remnant of a once prosperous and God-favoured people. Small wonder that they became a prey to gloom and misgiving. It was, therefore, the duty and aim of Zechariah to rouse and hearten his people, to draw them out of this dejected state, and to reanimate the hopes which had been so cruelly shattered.

The condition of the people, social and political, can be pictured by noting the following points :— It was not a kingdom to which they belonged ; they formed but a sparse colony. The thought of what their nation had been but a generation or two ago, contrasted with their present state, filled them with bitterness. They were not an independent people ; their freedom was to some extent, at least, restricted ; they had to obey the dictates of a far-off monarch. They were not a unity ; their brethren were scattered in different lands ; there was no national cohesion ; concerted action, had such been contemplated, was out of the question. The consciousness of their ineffectiveness was demoralizing. The attempt to start a new national life had been begun under very unfavourable circumstances ; they were poverty stricken ; they depended, in the main, on agriculture for gaining a living, but the seasons were unpropitious, the crops disappointing, the harvest inadequate.

It was, thus, to a people dejected because of disappointed hopes, embittered because of their political state, dissatisfied because of material wants, and lacking in religious fervour, that Zechariah came. The message whereby he sought to

inspire new hope in his sorely tried people was embodied in a series of visions; to these we must now turn.

III. THE NIGHT-VISIONS

These eight "visions" form a unity; the centre of unity is the thought of the Messianic era, now about to begin. Each vision has something specific to say in regard to this; but the prophet, in constructing them, has made them pairs; the first and the last (eighth) are not pairs in quite the same way as the middle six; but, as will be seen, they belong together. The first pair (the second and third visions) declare that the world-powers will not be able to hinder the advent of the Messianic era, for it is Yahweh Himself who will overcome Israel's enemies and protect them in the Holy City. The second pair (the fourth and fifth visions) show that the Messianic era has, in essentials, really begun; and the third pair (the sixth and seventh visions) describe the moral preparation of the people for the opening of the Messianic era. The first and eighth form a fitting opening and closing, respectively, of the whole cycle, inasmuch as the first heralds the dawn of the Messianic era, the eighth its imminent beginning.

The date given in i. 7 (the 24th day of the 11th month of the 2nd year of Darius = February-March 519 B.C.) at the head of the visions clearly applies to all of them, otherwise further dates would have prefaced the other visions; so that the prophet experienced these visions one after another, and probably, as will be seen, within a very short period of time.

The first night-vision (i. 8-17). The prophet sees in a deep valley a rider on a red horse; behind him are dark-red, pink,¹ and white horses; riders are not mentioned, nor is this required, since these horses are symbolic. The riders are taken for granted. They are represented as having been riding to and fro on the earth, and report that there is peace and quiet everywhere. Since the *shaking* of the earth, and not quietude,

¹ The precise meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain, but if the interpretation of the vision given below is correct, pink probably comes nearest to the colour that is meant.

is to be the sign of the coming of the Messianic age (Hag. ii. 6, 7), the angel asks Yahweh—for the prophet's information—how long He will refrain from having mercy on Jerusalem, *i.e.* how long it will be before the Messianic age dawns. Yahweh replies the He is about to return¹ to Jerusalem, and that the cities of the land shall be prosperous.

The purpose of the vision is to assure the prophet, and through him the people, that the advent of the Messianic age is close at hand. It is a night-vision ("I saw in the night"), but the rider on the red horse symbolizes the sun, *i.e.* the bright time that is about to come; the dark-red horse is a symbol of the first stage of the glory which the prophet sees in his mind's eye; it is the indistinct glimmering in the dark recesses of the valley; the pink horse denotes the brightening of the sun beginning to rise in the east; and the white horse symbolizes the sun in the fullness of its glory. Similarly, the myrtle trees beginning to shoot forth their buds in newness of life (it is spring-time) are a symbol of the coming renovation of the nation.²

The vision is thus an introduction to the whole series; it presents, in symbolic form, a picture of the coming Messianic age, the preparation for which is dealt with in the visions which follow.

The second night-vision (i. 18–21; Hebr. ii. 1–4). The prophet sees four horns, symbols of strength, they represent the Gentiles in general, comprehended in the four corners of the earth. He then sees four smiths, symbols of destruction (cp. Isa. liv. 16, 17, and Ezek. xxi. 31, Hebr. 36), and is told that these have come to destroy the four horns. This destruction of the Gentiles, preparatory to the advent of the Messiah, becomes a prominent element in eschatological drama; in its origin it is a mythological trait, and came to Judaism, in all probability, through the medium of Persian eschatology.³

The third night-vision (ii. 1–5; Hebr. ii. 5–9). The prophet sees a man with a measuring-line who is about to measure the extent of Jerusalem in order to see how long and how wide

¹ It is the "prophetic perfect" which is used here.

² See Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja*, pp. 26 ff. (1910).

³ See Böcklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der Jüdisch-christlichen mit der Persischen Eschatologie*, pp. 125 ff. (1902).

the city is to be. But he is told that Jerusalem will not need to be enclosed with walls because the multitude of men and cattle who will come there will be so great; it must not be circumscribed with walls. This, however, is a subsidiary reason; the real point is, as the prophet goes on to say, that Yahweh will be a wall of fire around the city; for His advent is imminent, and His glory will appear in the midst of Jerusalem, *i.e.* in the Temple (cp. Mal. iii. 1).

There is a close connexion between this and the preceding vision, for, according to the Jewish eschatological drama, the onslaught of the Gentiles would be directed against Jerusalem, hence the prophet's words about Yahweh forming a wall of fire around it (sec ii [iv] Ezra xiii. 9-11); this is to be its protection against the Gentiles.

The actual vision occupies only five verses; what follows in verses 6-13 (Hebr. 10-17) contains a group of prophetic utterances which are not part of the vision. It is to be noted that both in the vision and in the passage which follows it the conceptions regarding the age to come, *i.e.* the Messianic times, differ fundamentally from those in the two visions which follow. It is evident that Zechariah had been greatly impressed with eschatological traits, during his life in Babylon, which later became stereotyped in Persian eschatology; it is, otherwise, difficult to understand how he could at one time make Yahweh (God) the central figure of the Messianic age, and at another, the Messiah, in the person of Zerubabel; he appears to have been at pains to adapt the eschatological ideas he had imbibed in Babylon to the Messianic expectations of his people.

The fourth night-vision (iii. 1-10). In the first three visions the prophet's thoughts were largely centred on Jerusalem; he is now concerned with his people. In this vision he deals with the moral condition of the people in the sight of God. The prophet sees the high-priest standing before the angel of Yahweh and being accused by Satan. The latter is, however, dismissed, and the angel of Yahweh commands his servants to take away the filthy garments wherewith the high-priest is clothed, and to put on him clean garments, and to place the high-priestly head-dress upon his head. The high-

priest, Joshua, then receives a promise from Yahweh that if he will walk in His ways he shall rule in the Temple and have access to God. It is further declared that Joshua and his fellows, *i.e.* the priesthood, are a sign, or pledge, of the near approach of the Messiah. It is noteworthy that the Messiah is spoken of as the "servant" of Yahweh, and is called the *Ṣemah*, "Branch," or "Sprout." The gem which is to adorn his crown is ready, and Yahweh Himself is about to engrave thereon a fitting inscription. When the Messiah comes God will obliterate the sins of the people, and there will be peace upon the land.

The meaning of the vision is, briefly, as follows:—The high-priest Joshua is the representative of the people; his filthy garments symbolize their pitiable present condition; the clean garments are symbolic of national restoration. Satan is dismissed because his accusation is futile, the people have atoned for their sins through the Exile (*cp.* Isa. xl. 2). The facts that the full functions of the priesthood are about to be re-inaugurated and the Temple worship restored are an earnest of the near advent of the Messiah (*cp.* Hag. ii. 1 ff.). The stone for his diadem points to the Messiah's coronation; his name is to be engraved upon it. With the advent of the Messiah will come peace and prosperity, for the people will have become a purified nation.

The fifth night-vision (iv. 1-6a, 10b-14). This vision is a development of the preceding one. The prophet sees a lamp-stand with seven branches; each branch bears seven lamps; over each of them is a bowl from which oil is supplied to the lamps. On either side of the lamp-stand is an olive tree. The angel explains to the prophet that the seven lamps represent the eyes of Yahweh—the seven times seven express intensity—and that the two olive trees are the two "sons of oil," *i.e.* the two anointed ones, the high-priest and the Messiah, Joshua and Zerubbabel.¹

On the dislocation of the text here see below.

The sixth night-vision (v. 1-4). The prophet sees a great roll of writing being blown by the wind over the land of Judah;

¹ Some scholars regard the mention of the two "sons of oil" as a later addition.

upon it a curse is written, a curse upon the guilty among the people. The roll flies into the dwellings of the wicked, bringing punishment upon them and destroying their houses.

The vision is a symbolical picture of the purging of the land of sinners preparatory to the advent of the Messiah.

The seventh night-vision (v. 5-11). This vision is closely connected with the preceding one; in that the destruction of individual sinners was symbolized; this one describes the taking away of the principle of evil from the land; again, it is preparatory to the advent of the Messiah. The prophet sees a woman in an *ephah*—a large dry measure; she is "Sin" personified, having the name of *Rish'a* ("wickedness"); she is carried away in the *ephah* by two women who have wings "like the wings of a stork"—their journey is a long one, hence the wings of a stork, which flies for great distances; she is taken to the land of Shinar, synonymous with Babylon,¹ the land of Israel's captivity, and therefore the arch-enemy; the land is thus an appropriate one for the permanent abode of Wickedness.

The eighth night-vision (vi. 1-8). Between this and the first vision there is a certain external similarity, but this must not be unduly pressed, for the function of the differently coloured horses is not the same in the two visions. In the first they are symbolic of the coming glory of the Messianic era; here, attached to chariots, they are Yahweh's instruments of punishment; in the first vision their colours represented phases of the rising sun of glory; here the colours indicate the four quarters of the compass.

The prophet sees four chariots with differently coloured horses, coming forth from between two mountains. They go towards the four quarters of the earth after having stood before the face of the Lord of the whole earth, *i.e.* to receive His commands as instruments of the divine wrath against the Gentiles. The chariot with the black horses goes towards the north, *i.e.* to Babylon; in regard to this it is said: "Behold, they that go toward the north country have quieted my

¹ This identification is not accepted by all scholars.

spirit¹ in the north country" (vi. 8), *i.e.* punishment upon this country has been inflicted by Yahweh's messengers, therefore His wrath¹ is appeased.

This vision thus records the final act preparatory to the advent of the Messiah.

What follows the series of night-visions (vi. 9-15) is an appendix connected with the fourth one; in iii. 8 ff. it is pointed out that Joshua and the priests are "men of sign," or a pledge that Yahweh will bring forth the Messiah, and that the stone for the diadem is ready to receive upon it an inscription which Yahweh Himself will inscribe; in this appendix the command is laid upon the prophet to cause a crown to be made out of the gifts from the exiles still in Babylon; no doubt we are intended to understand that the inscribed stone is to be set in the crown, or diadem; in verse 11 it is said that the crown is for Joshua the high-priest, but everything has pointed to Zerubbabel, the Messiah, as the one for whom the crown is destined (see also verse 12 and Hag. ii. 20-23); the name of Joshua was put in place of Zerubbabel at a later time when the high-priest was the head of the theocratic government.

Chs. vii, viii belong together; in the former the question is asked whether certain fast-days, hitherto kept, are still to be observed; the prophet replies in the form of prophecies and admonitions in which he gives as a reason why the fast-days should be discontinued the fact that God had not commanded the fathers to keep them; what God did command was justice and righteousness; but His commands were disregarded, and therefore punishment came. In ch. viii the prophet gives a further reason for the abrogation of the fast-days: the Messianic age is about to dawn, therefore fast-days must be turned to festivals.

¹ "Spirit" is here used in the sense of "wrath," as frequently, *see, e.g.,* Judg. viii. 3; Isa. xxv. 4, xxx. 28.

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT OF ZECH. I-VIII

The somewhat unsatisfactory state of the Hebrew text of these chapters is due not only to the corruptions to which all MSS. in the course of transmission are subject (*e.g.* vii. 2), but also, as for example vi. 11, to deliberate alteration in the interests of a later religious point of view. One considerable dislocation of the text, not easily to be accounted for, occurs in ch. iv, where verses 6b-10a should come after verse 14. There are a number of minor interpolations which mar the text, *e.g.* in i. 19 (Hebr. ii. 2), v. 6, vii. 1, 8, 9, viii. 13; a few doublets occur, *e.g.* iv. 12, v. 11; and in some cases what appears to have been a marginal note is inserted in the text, such as ii. 8 (Hebr. ii. 12), iv. 12, vi. 6, and some others. These blemishes are not always apparent in the Revised Version.

In many cases the Septuagint gives valuable help where the Hebrew text is obviously corrupt (*e.g.* ii. 3 (Hebr. ii. 7); ii. 6 (Hebr. ii. 10); iii. 4, 5; vi. 12; viii. 9), but not infrequently the Septuagint presents corruptions found in the Hebrew text itself, *e.g.* iv. 12, v. 3, vii. 2, and the dislocation of iv. 6b-10a. Upon the whole, the Septuagint is indispensable, but it has not, for these chapters, the same importance as for many others of the Old Testament books.

V. ZECHARIAH IX-XIV

These chapters contain two small collections (ix-xi and xii-xiv), each of which, like the book of *Malachi*, bears the title *Massah* (*i.e.* a prophetic "utterance").

In two respects these chapters resemble, in external form, most of our prophetic writings: they consist of a number of independent literary pieces, and they are, for the most part, written in poetic form. That they were not written by Zechariah is generally recognized, but there are considerable differences of opinion as to their date and historical background. It will be necessary to consider each piece separately; but to enter into a detailed argument for the position

here taken up in regard to them would occupy too much space; references will be given where the arguments in support of the statements to be made can be found.

ix. 1-8 and xi. 1-3. These two pieces may very likely refer to the same event, which is clearly an invasion of Syria, including Phoenicia and Palestine; in ix. 1 it is said: "Oracle. The word of Yahweh concerning the land of Hadrach, and Damascus is its resting-place" (*i.e.* it is specially concerned with Damascus); the context goes on to mention a number of places in western Syria to the south of Palestine which fall into the hands of the conqueror. The invasion of Syria is still more clearly referred to in xi. 1: "Open thy doors, O Lebanon . . ."; the context describes the invasion of the land east of Jordan. The "doors" of Lebanon are the fortresses constructed by the Egyptian power in defence of Coele-Syria. The reference in these two passages is to the invasion of Syria by Antiochus iii; but this monarch invaded Syria twice, in 218 B.C. and 199 B.C., and one cannot be quite sure as to which of these the passages refer.¹

ix. 9-12 and 13-17. These two passages probably belong to the same period, though somewhat later than those just considered. The first of them is a Messianic passage in which the Messiah is pictured in a way entirely different from that usually presented. In itself it might have been written by Isaiah, or by a Deutero-Isaiah, but that its content does not suggest an historical background of such early periods; it runs: "Behold, thy king cometh unto thee; just is he and victorious, lowly, and riding upon an ass, even a she-ass's colt." War has ceased, there is peace among the nations, and the Messiah's dominion is to be world-wide; the Jews, scattered abroad, are to return to the homeland ("the stronghold"). We have here an ideal picture, prompted during a period of peace; and there are reasons justifying our assigning it to the year 164 B.C., when the victory of Judas Maccabæus over the Syrian forces marked a turning-point in the Jewish struggle for independence, since by it religious freedom was gained. Owing to the preoccupations of the Syrian forces

¹ See further, Oesterley and Robinson, *A History of Israel*, ii. pp. 203 ff., 212 ff. (1932).

elsewhere the Jews enjoyed a comparatively long period of peace; the re-dedication of the Temple, after its pollution by Antiochus iv, made possible once more the full celebration of the Temple worship; the episode is reminiscent of the hopes and rejoicings at the dedication of the Temple after its rebuilding in 516 B.C. (Ezra vi. 15 ff.). Just as Haggai and Zechariah had believed that the renovated Temple would herald the approach of the Messiah, so the writer of this passage saw in the re-dedication of the Temple a sign of the coming of the Messiah. Like Zechariah ("Not by an army, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith Yahweh Šebaoth," Zech. iv. 6), this *Hasid* also looked for the conquest of the world by the Messiah by spiritual means ("he shall speak peace unto the nations").¹

The other passage (ix. 13-17), while also belonging to the time of Judas Maccabæus, is to be dated about a year earlier; that it is of different authorship must be supposed owing to its warlike spirit. In verse 13 it is said: "I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against the sons of Greece";² this cannot refer to any period in Jewish history other than the Maccabæan, for the Jews never fought at any other period against the Greeks; it is entirely appropriate that the Syrians should be called "Greeks," both because the Seleucid empire had formed part of Alexander's eastern dominions, and because the Syrians were whole-heartedly hellenistic. The passage refers to the beginning of the leadership of Judas Maccabæus, when the warlike zeal of his followers was roused to fever-heat by his victory over Apollonius, the Syrian general; we read in i Macc. iii. 12: ". . . and Judas took the sword of Apollonius, and therewith he fought all his days"; it is likely enough that this martial spirit leading to victory is reflected in Zech. ix. 13: "I have bent for me Judah as a bow, I have filled it with Ephraim (*i.e.* Judah is the bow, Ephraim the arrow), I will stir up thy sons, O Zion, against the sons of Greece, and I will make thee as the sword of a mighty man"—the last words are possibly an allusion to the sword captured by Judas. In this connexion the words of verses 14,

¹ See further, Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 243 ff.

² Following the, doubtless correct, reading of the Septuagint.

15 are also full of significance: "And Yahweh shall be seen over them, and his arrow shall go forth as the lightning, and the Lord God shall blow the trumpet with the whirlwinds of the south. Yahweh Šebaoth shall defend them, and they shall prevail, and shall tread down the slingers; and they shall drink their blood (Sept.) like wine, and they shall be filled like the bowls—like the horns of the altar"; the picture in the mind of the writer expressed by these last words was that of the blood of the sacrifices splashed upon the altar; the somewhat bloodthirsty spirit displayed can be understood when one reads such passages in i Macc. i. 20-28, 54-64, ii. 38, and remembers the unrestrained fury which religious persecution will prompt.¹

x. 1-2. Of this fragment there is little to be said; it has nothing to do with what precedes or follows; it is difficult to account for its presence.

x. 3-12. There are a number of indications in this passage which suggest that it was written towards the end of the high-priesthood of Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabæus; with the victories of Jonathan it looked as though the Maccabæan struggle had reached a triumphant conclusion. In verse 4 the "corner stone," the "nail," and the "battle bow" may well refer respectively to the three Maccabæan leaders, Simon, Judas, and Jonathan. In the words of verse 6, "And I will strengthen the house of Judah, and I will save the house of Joseph . . ." and of verse 10, the writer expresses the conviction that final victory and the return of all Israel from the Dispersion is about to take place. Tyre and Gebal, the great sea-ports, and Syria and Egypt shall all be done away with; in conformity with his love of figurative expression he uses "Assyria" for Syria, as in Isa. xxvii. 13, Mic. v. 5 f. (Hebr. 4 f.), and Egypt is the Ptolemaic empire.²

xi. 4-17 and xiii. 7-9. As many commentators recognize, these two passages belong together; the latter has been misplaced and should come immediately after xi. 17.³ Their full significance can be grasped only in the light of the

¹ See further, Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 242 f.

² See further, Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, ii. p. 259.

³ We note, however, that in form xi. 4-16 belongs to type C (see above, p. 229), while the remainder is of the usual oracular type.

internal conditions of Judæa during the period of the Maccabæan struggle; with these we cannot deal here. It must suffice to say that two deplorable factors brought shame and suffering on the people during a considerable part of this period—we are referring to *internal* conditions; one was the buying and selling of the high-priesthood, the other was the internecine strife between the hellenistic and orthodox Jews. The "shepherds" spoken of in these passages are the high-priests Jason, Menelaus, and especially Alkimus; in xi. 8 it is said that these three shepherds are to be cut off "in one month"; this is meant to be taken figuratively, "within a short period," which we know from i Macc. and Josephus to have been the case. All three, and especially Alkimus, were guilty of leaving the flock (verse 17) both in the literal sense as well as in the sense of neglecting their charge. It is in reference to Alkimus that the words of this verse are spoken: "The sword (used figuratively for 'destruction') shall be against his arm and against his right eye; his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened"; this description of a paralytic stroke agrees with what is said in i Macc. ix. 55, 56: "At that time was Alkimus stricken, and his works were hindered, and his mouth stopped, and he was taken with a palsy (*παρελύθη*) . . ."

Then with regard to the conflict between hellenistic and orthodox Jews, this centred, in the first instance, in an antagonism between Jerusalem and Judah, and is referred to specially in xi. 7-11; the two "staves" called "Beauty" and "Bands," but more correctly "Pleasantness" and "Union," are used figuratively of Judah and Jerusalem;¹ both the staves are broken to indicate that the brotherhood which should naturally exist between the Jerusalem Jews and those of the rest of Judah was severed; this was bitterness to a true Jew such as the writer of this passage, and verse 9 reflects his feeling of irritation at the existence of such an unnatural animosity between brethren. These sections are thus the reflections of one who stood aloof from the turmoil of the times, but who was impelled to record what he felt; they are

¹ The Hebrew text reads "Judah and Israel," but, apart from the fact that two MSS. and the Lucianic text read "Jerusalem" for "Israel," the circumstances of the time demand that we should read "Jerusalem."

important as witnessing to the internal affairs of the Jews during the middle of the second century B.C., of which we have evidence in extra-Biblical sources.¹

xii, xiii. 1-6. These difficult passages in which eschatological thought is attached to current historical events—a common trait in Jewish eschatology—has clearly been influenced by some parts of the book of *Ezekiel*. The eschatological portion is contained in xii. 1-9; an historical event lies behind xii. 10-14, and in xiii. 1-6 the conditions which will obtain in the Messianic age are contrasted with those of the present time, the two subjects referred to being idolatry and the prophetic order, which had fallen into decay. It is the second of these passages (xii. 10-14) which is the most difficult to understand on account of its cryptic references; and the difficulty is increased by a number of corruptions in the Hebrew text. The following brief explanation is taken from the volume already referred to more than once; to it recourse must be had for further details: ² the reference in the passage is to the death of Simon the Maccabee and to the mourning for him; verses 10, 11 contain two corruptions in the Hebrew text; emended, we may read them thus: "And I will pour³ upon the house of David the spirit of deep emotion and of supplication, and they shall contemplate him (*i.e.* Simon) whom they (*i.e.* his murderers) have pierced;⁴ and they (*i.e.* the Jews) shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for an only son. . . . In that day there shall be a great mourning in Jerusalem, like the mourning of women lamenting Tammuz-Adon."⁵ In the description of the mourning that takes place (verses 12-14), the first point to note is the strict separation of the sexes, a definite mark of a very late period; there is, further, much significance in the order of the mourning families enumerated; "the family of the house of David" comes first, in reference to the ruling family, *i.e.* the high-priestly house, of which

¹ See further, Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 258 ff.

² Oesterley and Robinson, *op. cit.*, ii. pp. 267-271.

³ The future form is somewhat misleading, it is a statement of actual facts which is recorded.

⁴ See i Macc. xvi. 14-17.

⁵ See Ezek. viii. 14; the "weeping for Tammuz" was always enacted by women.

John, the son of the murdered Simon, was now head; then "the family of the house of Jonathan,"¹ this would naturally be mentioned next as being nearest of kin to the new high-priest; "the family of the house of Levi" is in reference to the priesthood; and lastly, "the family of the Simonites,"² the more distant relatives of Simon.

Thus interpreted the passage is full of meaning.

xiv. This is an apocalyptic section dealing with the final safety and glory of Jerusalem in the last times. In verses 1-5 it is told of how Yahweh will come and save Jerusalem from all the nations who gather against the city; verses 7, 8 speak of the light of the presence of Yahweh, so that there will be no difference between day and night; then in verses 8-11 there is the promise of living waters proceeding from Jerusalem east and west, and Yahweh alone will reign over all the earth; in verses 12-19 the apocalypticist tells of the punishment of all who fought against Jerusalem, and of those who will not come to Jerusalem to worship Yahweh; finally, verses 20, 21 speak of the sanctification of Jerusalem and Judah in that day. The writer is strongly nationalistic; and he offers some of the bizarre pictures characteristic of the later apocalyptic writings.

VI. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT OF ZECH. IX-XIV

The Hebrew text of this part of the book has, like the earlier part, suffered considerably; the corruptions in a number of instances are small, but nevertheless they often spoil the meaning of a text, and must be emended; in other cases they are more serious. The text is at fault in the following passages (they do not profess to be exhaustive): ix. 8, 15, 16, 17; x. 2, 5, 9, 12; xi. 2, 7, 8, 13, 14, 16; xii. 1, 5, 10; xiv. 5, 6, 10, 12. Dislocations of the text occur in xiii. 7-9, which belongs after xi. 17; and xiv. 13, 14 is a passage which is clearly out of place. Glosses are inserted in xi. 6 and xiv. 2.

In numerous instances the Septuagint witnesses to a better

¹ The text has "Nathan" by mistake.

² "Shimeites" is again a textual error.

form of the Hebrew text, *e.g.* ix. 2, 5, 10, 13, 15; x. 9, 11, 12; xi. 5, 16; xii. 2, 5, 8, 13; xiii. 7, 9; xiv. 5, 6, 18. Sometimes it is only a word which is in question, but it makes all the difference to the sense of a passage; so that the study of the Septuagint text cannot be ignored.

THE BOOK OF MALACHI

I. AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK

WE are accustomed to regard the name of the writer of this book as Malachi; but "Malachi" is not a proper name, as can be seen by the Septuagint rendering of i. 1: "Oracle; the word of Yahweh unto Israel, by the hand of his messenger" (ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ). The idea of Yahweh's messenger who is sent to prepare the people for His coming is taken from Isa. xl. 3-8. "Malachi" is simply the Hebrew for "my messenger." The writer of the various literary pieces of this book is anonymous like so many others whose writings have been preserved in the prophetic books.¹

But if we do not know his name, we learn from his book something about the personality of the writer. He has the spirit of the true prophet in him in his denunciation of insincere worship; he believes in the necessity of the sacrificial system, but he insists upon the right spirit in offering, otherwise it is a dishonouring of God (i. 6-8). Better no sacrifices at all than the kind of offerings which were being presented on the altar by priests who by doing so were despising the name of God (i. 6); he says: "O that there were one among you that would shut the doors, and that ye might not illuminate mine altar to no purpose" (i. 10); he wishes that there were even one priest who had sufficient strength of character to keep the Temple gates shut so that the mockery of the altar fire might cease.

But this prophet is equally zealous for the honour of the sanctuary in another direction; he finds that the people have been neglectful in paying tithe which was so necessary for the upkeep of the Temple and its services. He speaks in very strong language to the people on this subject: "Will a man rob God? Yet ye rob me [he speaks in the name of

¹ See above, p. 232.

God]. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and heave offerings (cp. Deut. xii. 11). Ye are cursed with a curse, for ye rob me, ye, the whole nation!" (iii. 8, 9).

This is all in the spirit of the true prophet.

Another striking trait is his universalistic outlook. When speaking in the name of God, he says to the priests, "neither will I accept an offering at your hand"; and he goes on to say: "For from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place a pure offering is burned to my name; for great is my name among the Gentiles, saith Yahweh Šebaoth" (i. 11). A word of explanation for this rendering is demanded. The point is that the prophet wishes to set in contrast against the polluted sacrifices of the Jewish priesthood and the insincere worship of the people (or a section of them), the religion of the Gentiles; the prophet holds that the God Who is inadequately worshipped in Jerusalem is the same Who is acknowledged by the Gentiles, who did revere "the highest God"; for a monotheistic tendency was beginning to show itself in many quarters, as Wellhausen has shown. The "highest God" worshipped in the Gentile world *is*, the prophet maintains, Yahweh. It is extremely doubtful whether there is any reference to incense; the word used for "incense" in the R.V. is not a noun formation, and never occurs as such; but the form is a past-participle (הִפְחַל *Hophal*),¹ and means, as in Lev. vi. 15, making the smoke of sacrifice. In any case, the passage exhibits an extraordinary universalistic attitude on the part of the prophet.

One other point must be mentioned as showing the type of man this prophet was; his ethical sense makes him regard divorce with abhorrence; and this not because the men who divorced their wives married daughters of "strange gods" (ii. 11), but because divorce in itself is an evil thing. His words are: "Yahweh hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously, though she is thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant" (ii. 14); the next verse is difficult because the

¹ The *Oxford Heb. Lex.* in one place calls it *Hoph. partic.*, in another, a substantive!

Hebrew text is obviously corrupt; emended, we must read: "Did not One (*i.e.* God) make us and preserve our spirit alive? And what does the One desire? A godly seed! Therefore take heed to your spirit, and let none deal faithlessly with the wife of his youth. For I hate divorce, saith Yahweh, the God of Israel. . . ." That is very fine, and shows an infinitely higher ethical ideal than Ezra. Altogether this prophet, whose name we do not know, was an exceedingly admirable man; some of his ideas, it is granted, were *naïve*—he was a child of his time—but that makes his fine ideas all the more remarkable. Note especially that his teaching on the indissolubility of the marriage-tie is quite out of harmony with the Judaism current at the time; it has its only parallel in the teaching of the Gospels.

II. DATE OF THE BOOK

There are not many books in the Old Testament which can be dated with more certainty than this one. That it is post-exilic cannot admit of doubt; thought, teaching, and diction make this self-evident; and the land is ruled over by a *pekah* or "governor." It was written after 516 B.C., because the Temple has been rebuilt and the full sacrificial system is in vogue; thus, in iii. 1 it is said: ". . . and the Lord, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple"; and in iii. 10 "mine house" is spoken of; besides, the offerings of sacrifices in the Temple is assumed all through (i. 7-14, and elsewhere); and the gates of the Temple are mentioned in i. 10, as we have already seen.

On the other hand, the condition of the priesthood and of a large section of the people is such that the reforms of Nehemiah and Ezra cannot possibly have taken place yet; this necessitates a date before 444 B.C. In passing it is worth noting: in *Malachi* no distinction is made between priests and Levites (ii. 4-9, iii. 3), all the sons of Levi are priests; but in the Priestly Code there is a great difference between them, the Levites being quite a subordinate order. On the other hand what *Malachi* says about the temple-tithe (iii. 7-10) agrees with Nehemiah and the Priestly Code (*Deuteronomy*

knows nothing of a tithe for the Temple, but only for the Levites every third year); but this is no argument for the book having been written in the time of Nehemiah or of the Priestly Code, because the Priestly Code has preserved a number of ancient laws, much older than *Deuteronomy*, many of which do not appear in that book.

"Malachi" therefore belongs to the period between 516 B.C. and 444 B.C., towards the end of it rather than at the beginning, so as to allow time for the development of the sacrificial system.

III. CONTENTS OF THE BOOK

i. 2-5. The prophet opens his book with asseverating that Yahweh loves His people: they had doubted this, probably on account of some calamity that had fallen on the land, see iii. 10, 11. So the prophet cites a concrete example to show the people that God loves them: Yahweh's love for Jacob, he says, is shown by his hatred of Esau; He has made their land a desolation, and even if the Edomites (the descendants of Esau) build the waste places, Yahweh will destroy them again. Then the people of Israel will recognize that Yahweh is great beyond the borders of Israel. The argument cannot, of course, appeal to us; but we must remember the time and that "Malachi" was the child of his age; it makes it all the more remarkable that he exhibits such exalted traits, as already pointed out.

i. 6-ii. 9. The prophet rebukes the priests because the offerings they bring are dishonouring to God; they think that anything is good enough for the purpose of sacrifice. Herein they show themselves, however, inferior to the Gentiles, who offer pure offerings to the name of God. Since the priests are guilty in this respect it is small wonder that the people in general follow their example; they bring animals with blemishes instead of a male from the flock. A prophecy of punishment is then uttered. The prophet, further, contrasts the conscientious way in which, in the past, the offerings were made with what is now done by the priests.

ii. 10-16. The prophet then condemns the marriages

with "daughters of a strange god"; and this for two reasons: the practice involves disloyalty to Yahweh; and it has also meant that the lawful wife has been divorced. Such faithlessness is an abomination to Yahweh.

ii. 17-iii. 5. The prophet now addresses himself to those impatient ones who, illogically enough, conclude that because the day of Yahweh does not come, therefore God is not really zealous for what is right—"Where is the God of judgement?"—"Everyone that doeth evil is good in the sight of Yahweh!" But Yahweh will send His angel before Him, who will prepare the way; and then He will Himself come to His Temple with the angel of the covenant. Then there will be a purging of the sons of Levi, *i.e.* of the priesthood; and offerings will be brought as of old. But punishment shall overtake all evil-doers.

iii. 6-12. The paragraph division in the R.V. is wrong; this section begins at verse 6 (not 7). Because of the troubles of the times (verses 10, 11) the people say that Yahweh has changed, and is not as He used to be in His treatment of His people. This idea the prophet combats: "For I, Yahweh, change not"; it is the people who have changed; this they have shown by not bringing the tithes and offerings. If they will bring the whole tithe again with the proper offerings, the curse which is upon them will be taken away, and the people will be happy again.

iii. 13-iv. 4 (Hebr. iii. 13-22). This section is in part parallel to ii. 17-iii. 5. The prophet denounces those who say it is useless to serve Yahweh, and who assert that the wicked are to be envied because they are prosperous. But, says the prophet, Yahweh has a book of remembrance wherein are inscribed the names of those who fear Him. These shall be His when His day comes; and He will be a Father to them. In that day the eyes of the wicked will be opened, and they will discern between the righteous and the wicked. Then there will be a burning, and those who have done evil will be burned up like stubble. The God-fearers, on the other hand, shall bask in the sun of righteousness, which shall bring healing to them. Then shall they tread upon the wicked, "for they shall be ashes under the soles of your feet"

(iv. 3, iii. 21 in Hebr.). The prophet concludes with an admonition to remember the law of Moses. Some commentators regard this verse (iv. 4) as a later addition, joining it on to the last two verses, because, it is said, it is incongruous to call upon the righteous, who have just been mentioned, to keep the law, which is just what they have been doing. It seems, however, to be an appropriate final reminder; yet, it must be noted what is to be said presently. In any case, the mention of Horeb points to its having been written before the Priestly Code, because in this it is always Sinai, while in *Deuteronomy* it is always Horeb, which is the scene of the giving of the law.

iv. 5, 6 (Hebr. iii. 23, 24). With iv. 4 the book would have had a fitting close, and doubtless this did originally conclude it; but some scribe added these two verses which are evidently intended as an allusion to iii. 1, "Behold, I send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me"; Elijah was the most obvious man to choose because he was taken up in the fiery chariot, *i.e.* he never died, and therefore his return might be expected at some time; and what more appropriate time than the eve of the day of Yahweh? These last two verses (and also iv. 4) are regarded by some modern commentators as a later addition on account, mainly, of the difference of function of the messenger in iii. 1 and here. But otherwise the integrity of the book is not seriously questioned.

The reference to the "law of Moses"—it occurs in no other prophetic book¹—and the conjunction of Moses and Elijah certainly point to a late date; both belong to developed Judaism; the expression "law of Moses" always refers to the whole of the Pentateuch, and therefore belongs to a time after the final redaction of the Priestly Code; and Elijah legends arose also in later days. Elijah would never have been given this precedence over all the great prophets had it not been for the traditional legend of his having gone up to heaven in a fiery chariot.

¹ ii Kgs. xxiii. 25, where the words "according to all the law of Moses" occur, belong properly to a very late edition of the book.

IV. THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

The Hebrew text has been well preserved; in only two passages are there corruptions which make emendation difficult (ii. 3, 15); minor corruptions are more frequent (*e.g.* i. 13, ii. 12, 15, iii. 6, 8), but they are not serious. The Septuagint is often helpful, sometimes it supplies an additional word which seems to have fallen out of the Hebrew text (*e.g.* i. 6, ii. 2, 3, iii. 5), and makes a better reading; the only omission of any note is iv. 3 (Hebr. iii. 21), though not all MSS. omit it.

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